



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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4 December 1990

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Chad

Habre Confirmed Alive; Oueddei Speaks

LD0312205190 Paris International Service
in French 1230 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Idriss Deby, the new strongman of Ndjamen, has established his power. One of his first gestures, as I have told you, was to order the release of several hundred Libyan prisoners, some of whom had been held for more than seven years. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, we are still wondering about the fate of Hissein Habre, the president on the run: What is he going to do, where is he? And on this point we have a confirmation from authorized sources: He is indeed in Cameroon at this moment. Nicolas Ballick:

[Ballick] Yes, it was acknowledged in Younde this morning that the disappointed president is indeed in Cameroon. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] We return to you, Christopher [Boisbouvier] in Ndjamen, where I believe that political audiences have begun. There is a small world of people attempting to position themselves at the moment.

[Boisbouvier] [passage omitted] There is talk of the famous southerner, Ouatane Kamougue, the former minister of trade, who is reported not to have left Ndjamen, so it is said. On the other hand the former number two, Gouara Lassou, and the former foreign minister, Acheikh ibn-Oumar, appear to have left for the other side of the river, to Cameroon, together with Hissein Habre. We have just learned more precisely under what circumstances Hissein habre left Chad on Saturday morning. It was believed that he had fled by plane. In fact, it appears that he put his family on a plane, but he left by car himself with a dozen of those loyal to him, over the bridge which stretches across the Chari river, and that he was held up on the Cameroonian side of the bridge for two hours by the customs officers who would not let him enter without authorization from their superiors. Finally, he was able to go to the home of the prefect of Kousseri, on the Cameroonian side, where once again he had to wait, apparently for four hours, on Saturday morning before obtaining authorization from the Cameroonian president, Paul Biya, to head for Maroua.

[Announcer] Among those who are clearly seeking to get into position at the moment is Goukouni Oueddei, the former Chadian president, the former head of the Transitional National Union Government [GUNT]. You are going to hear him right away, talking to Didier Bufin. Furthermore, he is ready to return to Ndjamen to talk with Idriss Deby, and the first question which Didier Bufin put to him was whether he has recently put together a new armed force. He was asked if this was true. Listen:

[Begin recording] [Oueddei] Absolutely untrue, and I tell you that in all possible truth, and I have been asking myself who has spread this report and with what intention.

[Bufin] You say that you are ready to take part in all sort of round table to talk with the various political representatives in Chad. You are thus ready possibly to take part in a government with Idriss Deby?

[Oueddei] I do not say that. I am ready to find an area of agreement if there is receptiveness or understanding on all sides.

[Bufin] Do you set any conditions for establishing this dialogue with Idriss Deby?

[Oueddei] Not at all.

[Bufin] So you are ready to return to Ndjamen?

[Oueddei] The problem is not of returning or not returning. The problem is one of resolving a national problem in a radical way and not superficially.

[Bufin] But in order to return to Ndjamen are you setting any conditions, for example, of safety or political conditions?

[Oueddei] I am not posing any problems. If I should happen to decide to return home I will not pose any security problems and I do not even see why I would raise this question.

[Bufin] How do you view Idriss Deby's program, which speaks in particular about establishing a multiparty system?

[Oueddei] If Idriss sincerely establishes a multiparty system, democracy, this is the wish of all Chadians, and I am in complete agreement with this idea. [end recording]

[Announcer] So, perhaps Goukouni will be returning to Ndjamen in the next few days or weeks. [passage omitted]

Habre on Return

AB0412101490 London BBC World Service in English
0730 GMT 4 Dec 90

[From the "African News"]

[Text] Increasing numbers of refugees from Chad have crossed into neighboring Cameroon following the take-over of the country by the rebel leader, Mr. Idriss Deby. A BBC correspondent in Cameroon says an estimated 5,000 Chadians are now in the border post of Kousseri, and some have made their way to the town of Maroua where the former president, Mr. Hissein Habre, and most of his government have taken refuge after fleeing Ndjamen over the weekend. Mr. Habre has said he would return to Chad and fight Mr. Deby if he fails to work for the interest of all Chadians.

Mr. Deby is reported to have suspended the country's Constitution and dissolved Parliament. He has promised to introduce democracy in Chad. Earlier, he freed more than 400 Libyan prisoners.

Further Oueddei Comments

AB0312164790 Paris AFP in French 1550 GMT
3 Dec 90

[Text] Algiers, 3 Dec (AFP)—Goukouni Oueddei, former leader of the Transitional National Union Government (GUNT), does not intend for the time being to participate in any eventual national union government that might be formed by Chad's new strongman Idriss Deby.

Contacted by telephone in Algiers, Mr. Goukouni, who said he is presently the leader of the Chadian National Liberation Front (Frolinat), expressed, however, the wish to be able "to quickly return home" and stated that he "has been in contact," through a third party, with Mr. Deby, whose troops entered Ndjamenas yesterday.

"Insofar as I am a Chadian citizen who has assumed and continues to assume responsibilities, if I return, it will be to ensure the reconstruction of the country; to achieve this goal, we must transcend the current problems" in Chad, he said during the telephone talk.

The issue of the government "is a matter for Mr. Deby," he added. "What is important is how to save our country from dismemberment." Asked to comment on Libya's attitude concerning his eventual return to Chad, he stated that "there is no reason for Libya to oppose it."

Finally, Mr. Goukouni stated that he has "no news" about the former head of state, Hissein Habre, whom the Libyan news agency JANA said was killed and who has reportedly taken refuge in Cameroon, according to a well-informed French source.

Group Hails Deby Victory, Calls for Conference

AB0312162690 Paris AFP in French 1404 GMT
3 Dec 90

[Text] Brazzaville, 3 Dec (AFP)—Today in Brazzaville, the Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP, opposition movement to the Hissein Habre regime) expressed satisfaction with the victory of the dissident Idriss Deby.

In an interview with Western press correspondents, the leader of this movement, Bire Titinan, expressed "satisfaction with the changes in Chad following former head of state Hissein Habre's flight to Cameroon."

Mr. Titinan called for a national conference in order "to enable all Chadians to discuss the future of their country." He also expressed satisfaction with "Mr. Deby's intention to introduce a multiparty system in Chad."

Set up last February in Brazzaville where it has its headquarters, the RDP is a merger of two parties, the Chadian People's Democratic Rally and the Chadian Action for Democracy and Progress.

Garrisons Join Deby; French Return to Barracks

AB0312174490 Paris AFP in French 1313 GMT
3 Dec 90

[Text] Paris, 3 Dec (AFP)—French troops of Operation Sparrowhawk in Chad, who were deployed over the weekend to strategic points in Ndjamenas where looting took place, will progressively return to their barracks, authoritative sources said today.

The 800-man reinforcement sent to Chad recently to ensure the safety of French nationals and foreigners, to assemble them, and to evacuate them, will return to France very soon, while the regular members of Operation Sparrowhawk, over 1,000 men, will return to their barracks.

This morning, 1,500 French troops were in Ndjamenas and 300 men were in Abeche in the eastern part of the country. Operation Sparrowhawk's purpose is to ensure Chad's external security, which was why Paris asked the French forces there to remain strictly neutral, in the belief that the fighting in recent days was among Chadians themselves. The same sources also added that at the request of interim President Jean Alingue Bawoyeu and with the consent of Idriss Deby's forces, which entered the capital yesterday, the French troops will continue to ensure the security of the Ndjamenas Airport, as they have been doing recently and which has allowed air traffic to continue.

It has also been learned from very well informed sources that Chadian garrisons in the northern part of the country, particularly that of Tibesti—the birthplace of former President Hissein Habre—have joined Idriss Deby.

Deby Dissolves National Assembly, Constitution

AB0312180290 Paris AFP in French 1752 GMT
3 Dec 90

[Text] Ndjamenas, 3 Dec (AFP)—Idriss Deby, chairman of the Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS), has suspended the Chadian Constitution and dissolved the National Assembly, it was learned in Ndjamenas today.

This decision, the first to be made by the MPS Executive Committee a day after the rebel leader entered the capital, demonstrates his desire to implement the precise political program of his party and not to accept any compromise.

Ndjamenas Said 'Normal'; No Arrests Reported

AB0312182690 Paris AFP in English 1815 GMT
3 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Ndjamenas, Dec 3 (AFP)—Chad's rebel Patriotic Salvation Front which wrenched power from the Hissein Habre regime last weekend, was preparing to revamp the country's institutions, as life returned to normal Monday.

Rebel leader Idriss Deby met here late Sunday and Monday with Chad's acting President Jean Alingue

Bawoyeu, but rebel leaders insisted they only recognize Mr. Alingue Bawoyeu's authority as Parliament speaker. Front leader Idriss Deby earlier said he did not recognize the institutions of the Habre regime and said they were no longer "viable." [passage omitted]

The situation in the capital appeared back to normal, after Ndjamenas was hit by looting and rioting following Mr. Habre's flight. There was a huge rush in the streets, however, as soon as the stores and street stalls reopened Monday and residents hurried to buy supplies. A crowd had also gathered outside administrative buildings that were ransacked on Saturday. Rebel troops of the Patriotic Salvation Front continued patrolling the city.

No arrests were made after the arrival here of rebel forces, reliable sources said, adding that the Patriotic Salvation Front had left mayors and other officials in the conquered regions in charge. [passage omitted]

450 Libyan Prisoners Released From Ndjamenas

AB0312202890 Paris AFP in English 2013 GMT
3 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Ndjamenas, Dec 3 (AFP)—[passage omitted] Meanwhile, 450 Libyan prisoners of war freed by the rebels left Ndjamenas aboard a Soviet-built Libyan Ilyushin airplane. Two other aircraft were waiting to ferry home the remaining prisoners. Some 1,500 Libyans were held in Chad, according to Libyan authorities. [passage omitted]

Minister Says France Neither Helped Nor Hindered

AU0412082190 Paris AFP in English 0217 GMT
4 Dec 90

[Text] Paris, Dec 4 (AFP)—A French cabinet minister said late Monday that France had neither helped nor hindered Idriss Deby build up the rebel army that victoriously swept into Ndjamenas on Sunday. Jacques Pelletier, the minister for cooperation and development, also said France would help Mr. Deby's efforts toward democratization.

"We're not here to say what government African countries should have," he said in a television interview. "Those days are over. We didn't help Idriss Deby, we just let him act."

Mr. Pelletier added, "His first declarations are of good quality. He wants to go toward democracy, he wants totally free elections, and we'll back him on that."

In another television program, Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement said, "We didn't dump Hissein Habre," referring to Chad's president for the last eight years.

"We simply told our Jaguars (warplanes) not to bomb the forces of Idriss Deby," he said. "Habre's regime collapsed much faster than we had expected." He added that the arms used by Mr. Deby's forces were 40 per cent Libyan and 60 per cent captured from the government forces.

Libyan Delegation Arrives in Ndjamenas 3 December

AB0412093490 Paris AFP in French 0756 GMT
4 Dec 90

[Text] Ndjamenas, 4 Dec (AFP)—A Libyan diplomatic delegation arrived in Ndjamenas yesterday evening to meet with the new strongman of Chad, Idriss Deby, it was learned from reliable sources today. The delegation arrived in the late afternoon aboard a Boeing 737 plane.

The arrival of this aircraft followed that of three Ilyushin 76's [as received] sent to transport 450 Libyan prisoners freed after the fall of Hissein Habre. According to military sources, Ndjamenas Airport is under the full control of the French Army. The French Army, the same sources asserted, is ensuring the operation of the control tower and airport facilities.

MPS Communique Cites Habre Regime 'Abuses'

AB0312184690 Paris AFP in French 1818
GMT 3 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Ndjamenas, 3 Dec (AFP)—This afternoon, Idriss Deby, chairman of the Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) and the rebel leader who defeated Hissein Habre, demonstrated his desire to impose power according to his wishes in Chad by suspending the Chadian Constitution and dissolving the National Assembly. [passage omitted]

That decision of the MPS executive committee, announced by Radio Chad No. 001, speaks of "the fictitious and invalid nature of the previous institutions" and "the abuses of a dying dictatorship." The Chadian Constitution was adopted by referendum on 10 December 1989 and the legislature was elected on 18 June this year. [passage omitted]

Congo

Prime Minister Poaty-Souchlaty Resigns 3 Dec

AB0312154290 Paris AFP in French 1459 GMT
3 Dec 90

[Text] Brazzaville, 3 Dec (AFP)—This afternoon, Congolese Prime Minister Alphonse Poaty-Souchlaty resigned his job, according to an official communique issued in Brazzaville. The communique pointed out that Poaty-Souchlaty's resignation follows "deep differences as a result of the search for solutions to the political crisis facing the country."

Mr. Poaty-Souchlaty, who was named prime minister in August 1989, also resigned from the Congolese Labor Party (PCT, the sole party), which will hold its fourth extraordinary congress from 4 through 7 December.

The former prime minister and General Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the head of state, held differing views last October on solutions to the political crisis facing the

Congo, according to informed sources. Mr Poaty-Souchlaty then left Congo for France, citing health reasons. He did not return to Brazzaville until 30 November, but did not resume duty. Planning and Economy Minister Pierre Moussa acted for him.

Two members of the PCT Political Bureau resigned from the party recently. They are Jean Michel Bokamba Yangouma, general secretary of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation, and Ange Edouard Pougui, president of the Economic and Social Council.

Rwanda

Patriotic Front Names New Hutu Chairman

AB0312232890 Paris AFP in English 1522 GMT
3 Dec 90

[Text] Kampala, Dec 3 (AFP)—Rebels of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) have named Colonel Alex Kanyerengwe as their new chairman, the NEW VISION newspaper reported here Monday. Col. Kanyerengwe replaces Major-General Fred Rwigyema who was killed on October 2 at the battlefield in Kagitumba.

NEW VISION said Colonel Kanyerengwe made the revelation when speaking to journalists at the Rwanda-Uganda border over the weekend. The paper said the RPF boss was accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Wasswa and Captain Musitu, earlier reported by the Rwandan authorities to be dead. The paper said Major Paul Kagame was chairman of the Rwanda Patriotic Front's Army High Command.

Col. Kanyerengwe, 52, is a Hutu and a former Rwandan internal affairs minister. He was Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana's colleague in organizing the 1973 coup that overthrew President Gregoire Kayibanda. In 1980 he fled to Tanzania after he was accused of planning to overthrow President Habyarimana's government.

NEW VISION said Col. Kanyerengwe, who claimed that he was commanding a large group of fighters, was tight-lipped on military details and neither did he say where the RPF headquarters was situated. The rebel leader denied that they had suffered heavy losses as claimed by the Rwandan Government, saying that the biggest loss suffered by his forces was at Ruhuhu inside the Kagera National Park where they had lost eight soldiers on Nov 20. He said that fighting was currently concentrated in the western part of the country around Kivuye and Byumba.

The rebel leader said the operational commander of the Rwandan Army in Mutara region, along with two other majors and 17 soldiers, had been killed in an ambush around Gabiro on November 18. The rebel leader confirmed that his forces had decided to adopt guerrilla

tactics last November in order to weaken and frustrate the Rwandan Army. He accused the Rwandan Government of violating the ceasefire announced on November 24. Col. Kanyerengwe also accused the Rwandan Government of luring local people into the war and said some of the local people sent by the government to attack his forces with pangas and spears had been killed.

Pledging that his RPF was still looking for a political solution to the Rwanda crisis, he vowed however that the RPF would fight on "if the Habyarimana regime does not accept negotiations."

"We are seeking national unity to regional and ethnic problems. We want democracy and an end to corruption. Every Rwandese has a right to citizenship," Col. Kanyerengwe stressed, adding that the current problem was not ethnic but political.

"If the problem was ethnic, I, a Hutu, would not have been elected to head the Front," said Col. Kanyerengwe whose predecessor was a Tutsi.

He re-affirmed earlier reports that Major-General Rwigyema had been killed on the battle-field, and strongly denied that he had died as a result of a power struggle between the Front's leadership. He also expressed doubts that Zairian troops were still fighting in Rwanda.

Front Rebels Attack From Uganda 1 December

EA0312204290 Kigali Domestic Service in French
1800 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] National unity remains the only weapon against the enemy, the enemy who is always tenacious in spite of the resounding defeats inflicted on him by the Rwandan Armed Forces. From Byumba, here is Florent Kampayana:

[Begin Kampayana recording] The Inyenzi [rebels] who attacked us on 1 October from Ugandan territory do not want to lay down their arms in spite of the great defeats our army repeatedly inflicts on them. These foolish boys rapidly forgot their bitter defeats in the Mutara region and more recently in the Kivuye commune, where they left hundreds of their fighters on the battlefield. They again attempted, the day before yesterday, another infiltration in the Cyumba commune, which ended in failure. They were then obliged to return to Ugandan territory, where they hatched other suicidal plans and then, this time, attacked the Kivuye commune.

The local population, for their part, remain vigilant so that no leeway is given these worthless invaders, who take pleasure in killing, looting cattle and foodstuff. The fact that the war we have been experiencing since 1 October is not yet over gives the people the opportunity of rigorously implementing the collective self-defense system. [end recording]

Kenya

Moi Opens KANU Special Delegates Conference

EA0312160090 Nairobi KNA in English 1020 GMT
3 Dec 90

[Speech by President Daniel arap Moi, at the opening of the Kenya African National Union, KANU, special delegates conference at Kasarani sports complex in Nairobi on 3 Dec—in Swahili]

[Text] Nairobi, 3rd December (KNA)—My dear fellow delegates, your excellencies the ambassadors and high commissioners, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, we last met here on June 21st and appointed a committee to look into a number of issues which had then become the subject of some public debate. The three areas we asked the KANU review committee to look into were the KANU nomination rules, the KANU election rules and the KANU code of discipline. We meet here again today a little over five months to discuss the report of the review committee we appointed.

Before discussing the findings and recommendations contained in the report which has been circulated to all of you, I would first like to take this opportunity to thank the committee, its chairman, the Hon. Prof. George Saitoti, and all who assisted it, for a job well done. In the course of its work, the committee visited every province of our Republic and listened to divergent views from our people. Therefore, as you prepare to deliberate on the recommendations, I hope and trust that you will bear in mind that everything you say has enormous implications for the welfare of our people.

Whatever you say should be said from true conviction. A number of Kenyans who made their presentations to the KANU review committee expressed the views they held on various issues because Kenya strongly believes on the principle of free expression. They expect you, as their representatives to be equally free in expressing views to defend their interests. The decisions or resolutions you arrive at today have the potential to build or destroy this nation. I trust that at the end of this conference, Kenyans will have every reason to be proud of you.

We come from different parts of our country, for each of our sub-locations is represented here by 20 elected delegates. In a real sense, therefore, our voice here is the voice of the people. We are all here as servants of the people. We do not dictate to the people. Rather, we do the bidding of the people. It always amuses me to read in the foreign press that our nation is ruled autocratically. I am often referred to as an autocrat. You are supposed to be a rubber stamp, doing everything which I order you to do. Reading some foreign newspapers, one gathers that Kenyans are sheep, or frightened children being whipped into ideas or actions they do not believe in. Those who peddle such myths are insulting the intelligence of our people. They ignore the wide ranging and heated debate which Kenyans have been engaged in since independence, but more so in recent months, over a variety of

deeply felt issues. If this was an autocratic regime, there would be no debate or criticism allowed.

Let us therefore treat this myth of autocracy with the contempt it deserves. Let us likewise not fall into the trap of trying to prove to others that we are not what they think we are. Life is too short for such fruitless preoccupations. Where there is unity, let us not divide ourselves merely to prove to outsiders that we have freedom to be disunited. We do not dictate to others on how they should run their affairs. We do not force anyone to respect our sovereignty. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of others. Similarly, we do not relish others interfering in our internal affairs.

As Kenyans speaking to other Kenyans, and especially as Kenyans representing the vast majority of the people of this country, we should feel free to speak our minds on anything that affects this nation and its people. Our country is undergoing enormous change. With change we are facing enormous challenges. But there is nothing new about change. We have made changes in the past. We continue to make changes to meet current challenges and we shall no doubt be making changes in the future as new challenges arise. What is important about change is that we must always try to manage change rather than let change manage our affairs.

Legislation is now before parliament seeking to restore the security of tenure of our judges, the attorney-general. Steps are under way to review other sections of our Constitution and laws to make them more in keeping with current times. Outside the legislative programme many measures are already being taken to liberalize the economy and open up more opportunities for investment and entrepreneurship for our people so that our nation can continue to grow in these increasingly difficult times. In everything we do, let us draw comfort from knowing that the people are with us. In the numerous times in which I have travelled the length and breadth of this nation talking to our people at all levels of life in our people lies great strength. [sentence as received] Let us tap that strength by never wandering too far away from our people. Let the people's wishes be our guidelines as we commence our deliberations of the KANU review committee. Since this is a special delegates conference convened specifically to deliberate in the report, I shall now allow the deliberations to continue. Thank you.

Somalia

Riots, Rebel Activities in Mogadishu Reported

AB0312150390 Paris AFP in English 1424 GMT
3 Dec 90

[By Michel Sailhan]

[Text] Mogadishu, Dec 3 (AFP)—Somali rebels making steady progress in the centre of this East African country

were Monday within 50 kilometres (30 miles) of Mogadishu, where daily life is increasingly in a state of anarchy.

Only five months after taking up arms against President Mohamed Siad Barre, in power since 1969, insurgents of the United Somali Congress (USC) hold a major sector of central territory stretching about 500 kilometres (300 miles) north-east of here. Their headquarters is at Ceelbuur, 350 kilometres (210 miles) from Mogadishu, and they hold Ceeldheere, close to the Indian Ocean coast.

Twelve days ago the rebels captured Buulobarde, 200 kilometres (120 miles) away on the main road to the north. They have cut the road at several points, including Jawhar, a little more than 100 kilometres (60 miles) from the capital, and launched their third attack since September at that point last week.

The USC rebels have twin-barrel anti-aircraft guns of Chinese manufacture mounted on trucks, light and heavy mortars, U.S.-made Browning machine-guns, and FAL, AK-47, M-16 and G-3 assault rifles. On a four-day tour of rebel zones, the first armed elements were encountered after a two-hour drive from here along a sandy track.

The army, officially said to number 65,000 men but estimated by Western diplomats to have only 10,000 soldiers because of widespread desertions, has to face the Congress insurgents in the centre, the Somali National Movement fighting in the north since 1988, and the Patriotic Movement active to the south.

At the weekend, the Defence Ministry urged former troops and all able-bodied young men to enlist to defend national unity. Prime Minister Mohamed Hawadle Madar on Sunday told the state news agency SONNA that the armed forces had been placed on maximum alert against what he termed "armed bandits."

Mogadishu is plunging day by day into a state of political and social anarchy. Nomads fleeing the fighting have swollen the city's population to 2.5 million people—a quarter of the country's population, according to the mayor. Power and water supplies are cut every day. A de facto curfew keeps foreigners and diplomats holed up at home once night falls.

Gunshots ring out nightly as gangs swoop to steal the all-terrain vehicles used by international organisations—a dozen were seen during the tour of rebel zones.

Shooting broke out on Sunday morning in the Yakshid, Karan and Wadajir districts where the government was distributing rice to the needy from a donation of 27,000 tonnes by Italy. Food riots ensued, and American Embassy personnel were immediately told to stay off the streets as a temporary measure.

The city is poorly protected, with just a few control posts on the roads which are tarmacked, and is regularly infiltrated by the USC rebels. They sent an armed escort to take this reporter from the city centre to tour their zones. The markets have vegetables and meat, but prices climb every day. Inflation for the past year was at least 200 per cent, according to the World Bank.

Politically, President Siad Barre is committed to a programme of reforms, and a new constitution enshrining multi-party politics has been approved. Negotiations between government and opposition representatives have been scheduled for Wednesday next week in Cairo. Whether the various armed groups take part is being negotiated and will depend on developments in the military sphere, diplomats said.

'Shoot Bandits on Sight'

*EA0312193290 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 1700 GMT 3 Dec 90*

[Text] Comrade Dr. Abdikasim Salad Hassan, Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] second deputy premier and minister of interior, today held a meeting at the police headquarters in Mogadishu with Benadir region administration officials and district administrators. Addressing the officials, the minister referred to problems caused by hard-core criminals in Benadir region, particularly in Wadajir, Yakshid, Wardiglei, Haulwadag, and Karan Districts. The minister spoke on the security situation in Mogadishu and the way the government intended to deal with it.

The minister said in order to curb acts of banditry in the city, the government had enacted a law which gives the security forces full authority to deal without any mercy with all acts of lawlessness perpetrated by bandits and deal ruthlessly with bandits. The law also authorizes the security forces to shoot bandits on sight. Bandits apprehended by security forces will be hastily taken to courts and charged appropriately.

The SDR second deputy premier and minister of interior, Dr Abdikasim Salad Hassan, called on Benadir administrators to forward to the Ministry of Interior reports on the situation in their respective districts, adding that the ministry would strive to allocate funds to the districts to enable them to fight banditry and powers in the form of a decree to allow them to carry out their responsibilities with full powers. He reminded them that every one of them will be judged on what he does as regards the restoration of security and on the ways he deals with general insecurity.

The meeting was attended by the deputy minister of interior of the SDR, Comrade (Mohamed Hashi Gani), and senior officials of the Somali police force. Administrators from the various districts of Benadir spoke at the meeting.

Vlok Requests Meeting With ANC Over Video

*MB0312144090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1423 GMT 3 Dec 90*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 3 SAPA—The minister of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has requested a meeting with the African National Congress [ANC] following reports backed by video footage of police collaborating with Inkatha by transporting a "warlord" in a Casspir to lead an Inkatha march, a spokesman confirmed on Monday [3 Dec].

Mr Vlok rejected the reports on Sunday and labelled the video footage, filmed in Zonk'zizwe township on the East Rand and released by the ANC, as crude and thinly-disguised propaganda. The footage shows a man with a red bandanna alighting from a police Casspir and marching with others.

Mr Vlok said in Pretoria on Sunday the SAP [South African Police] provided two Casspirs to transport three representatives of the Zulu community and four representatives of the Xhosa community for talks on violence on November 12. The man shown in the video excerpts was one of the Zulu peace talk delegates, he said.

Whoever had compiled the video material chose not to show the Xhosa representatives, he said. Mr Vlok said he viewed the matter in a serious light and would raise it as soon as possible with the ANC.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze confirmed that they had requested a meeting with the ANC on the issue. "The matter has to be followed up," he said.

The ANC had not yet responded to the request.

Temporary Indemnity Granted to PAC Members

*MB0312191290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1659 GMT 3 Dec 90*

[By Thami Mkhwanazi]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 3 SAPA—The government on Monday [3 Dec] announced the names of 18 PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] members granted temporary indemnity. The 18 have been accorded indemnity from Monday till December 14. A PAC spokesman confirmed on Monday that all 18 were members of the PAC.

The names listed in Monday's government gazette include some of the external PAC leadership, namely Administrative Secretary Joe Mkhwanazi, Secretary for Foreign Affairs Ahmed Gora Ibrahim, Secretary for Economic Affairs Mfanasekhaya Pearce Gqobose, Repatriation Committee Chairman and Secretary for Education Elliot Mfafa, Secretary for Welfare Nomvo Booi, chief representative in Uganda Templeton Tantala and chief representative in Australia Neville Legg.

The others are Vuyisile Jordan, Victor Khabo, Jimmy Matsapola, Khusele Mngaza, Moagi Mothopeng, Jane Ouma Saidie, Tladi Kekana, Mike Mkangwana, Colben Mngaza, Jouce Moabi and Cecil Sondlo.

Monday's gazette came 14 days after the PAC criticised the government for turning down an application for the indemnity of 14 PAC exiles who were to attend the organisation's national conference at Johannesburg's Shareworld this coming weekend.

PAC General Secretary Benny Alexander told a press conference two weeks ago that refusal to allow the 14 to enter the country came after Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen had written the PAC a letter requesting exploratory talks. Said Mr Alexander at the press conference: "The refusal exposes the lie that political organisations are totally unbanned and free to conduct their affairs normally."

Attacks on Whites in Transkei Reportedly Planned

*MB0412113390 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 4 Dec 90*

[Text] The Department of Foreign Affairs is conferring with the Transkeian government after rumors that the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] plans to attack white holidaymakers in Transkei.

The rumors suggest that the PAC intends to attack and rob whites in Transkei, because the organization is not in a position to do so in the Transvaal.

Details of the alleged plans, which the Transkeian security forces do not regard as having substance at this stage, have been distributed to all police branch commanders.

A spokesman for the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said the department was monitoring the situation carefully, and continuing its discussions with the Transkeian government.

Unrest Noted; SACP Calls for Resignations

*MB0312175690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1604 GMT 3 Dec 90*

[Excerpts] Johannesburg Dec 3 SAPA—Curfews were slapped on four Reef townships late on Monday [3 Dec] afternoon as police reported the death toll had risen to at least 64 in the latest outbreak of violence in the Transvaal. Police said 52 bodies had been found in Thokoza, eight bodies in Tembisa and four in Katlehong, since fighting erupted on Sunday afternoon in the three East Rand townships.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in a statement Thokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus, all near Alberton, and Bekkersdal in Westonaria, were declared unrest areas. [passage omitted]

The South African Communist Party (SACP) on Monday called for the resignation of Mr Vlok and Minister of Defence Gen Magnus Malan, charging them of incompetence or reluctance to take steps against warlords and death squad violence.

In a statement, the SACP alleged the security forces were responsible for killing 300 to 400 people of the 3,000

who died in political violence in South Africa since the beginning of the year. According to the SACP, the departure of Mr Vlok and Gen Malan should be the first step in normalising and "democratising" security and law and order in South Africa. "There will be no stability until there is a truly representative people's army and people's police force, under the control of a legitimate interim government." The SACP also called on township residents to form disciplined self defence units (SDUs) to defend the people against the ongoing violence.

Mr Vlok added in his statement: "Now is the time for all parties involved to sit down and talk their differences and to prevent further loss of life during the approaching festive season."

All but one of those killed since the latest round of violence erupted on Sunday were blacks. They had either been necklaced, decapitated, shot, or hacked to death.

A white security guard was reportedly necklaced in Katlehong on Sunday. His car had also been burned. Police discovered the charred and badly wounded body of Mr Joseph de Beer, 24, who worked as a security guard at Springbok Patrols, who was almost certainly necklaced.

Police and Army reinforcements started moving into Thokoza on Monday morning, following almost night-long bursts of gunfire, and other forms of violence. [passage omitted]

Transkei Says Civilian Rule 'Not Negotiable'

MB0312124590 Johannesburg International Service in English 1100 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] The leader of the military government of the southern African Republic of Transkei, Major General Bantu Holomisa, says a reversion to civilian rule in Transkei is not negotiable at this stage.

Speaking in Umtata Gen. Holomisa said he stood by his early assertions that the destiny of any country should be determined by the nationals of that country. The military government of Transkei was committed to handing over power to civilians but certain objectives that were of public concern would have to be achieved first.

The Transkei military government was the target of an unsuccessful coup attempt last month.

'Hard-Liner' To Head ANC's Natal Leadership

MB0312065790 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0500 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] A hard-liner has been chosen to head an important region of the ANC's [African National Congress] organization in Natal. Carmel Rickard reports on the new leader of the organization in the Midlands region, which has seen much of the violent conflict in the province:

[Rickard] The election of former Robben Islander Harry Gwala was not a surprise. It comes just a few days after

Inkatha leaked a memorandum from the region, believed to have been written by Gwala, critical of the ANC's National Executive Committee [NEC] for peace talks in Natal with Inkatha.

The memorandum said the ANC would lose support of the youth through its actions, and should consult more widely with the grassroots. Partly as a result of this memorandum, the ANC suspended talks with Inkatha for several weeks, and held urgent consultations with local communities before talks were restarted last week.

Gwala is a member of the Communist Party and of the NEC, and like his Durban counterpart, Jacob Zuma, said among the most urgent tasks facing the region were the question of national negotiations and how to end the violence.

ANC's Sachs Discusses Religious Policy

MB0312200190 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1915 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 3 SAPA—A secular state which guarantees religious freedom was the goal of the ANC [African National Congress]. This was said by ANC constitutional advisor Prof Albie Sachs at a conference in Johannesburg organised by the World Conference on Religion and Peace [WCRP] on Monday [3 Dec].

He said the ANC wanted an active relationship between the state and the churches, as they would have to cooperate in solving problems like education and housing.

The state should not dominate the various religions, but rather ensure their right to exist, Prof Sachs said.

He added the ANC had members who were religious, including President Oliver Tambo, and that the organisation's anthem was a hymn.

Dr Gerrie Lubbe, of the WCRP, said the function of the conference was to discuss a "draft charter on religious freedom."

He said whites, particularly Afrikaners, were not yet ready to recognise religious plurality. He added several white churches did not accept invitations to attend the multi-faith convention.

Another speaker on Monday, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said there was a "spirit of intolerance" among those who had been the dominant religious force for so long.

He said that in a new South African constitution religion should not be forced on anyone.

Commentary Praises New Mozambican Constitution

MB0312211490 Johannesburg International Service in English 1555 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Station commentary: "Mozambique"]

[Text] At midnight last Friday [30 Nov] night, a new democratic era dawned for Mozambique. It became the new Republic of Mozambique with the implementation of its new constitution.

In terms of the new constitution, which was approved by a special session of Mozambique's parliament, the old Marxist people's republic with its one-party system makes way for a multiparty democracy with greater economic freedom. This opens the way for a general election late next year and for reconciliation between the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government and the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement, which will enable them to end their civil war.

President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique on Thursday appealed to Renamo to work toward a successful conclusion in the ongoing peace talks with Frelimo and to help end the civil war. He also appealed to Renamo to take part peacefully in the new political process. President Chissano said that in the light of the new freedom for each Mozambican to freely state his political beliefs, the need for political violence had disappeared.

Mozambique's progress toward democracy has already paid economic dividends for its suffering millions. Although this economic progress has been modest, because new investment and development projects are confined virtually only to safe parts of the country, they are nevertheless significant. They are indications of what can really be achieved when the civil war ends and development and progress can return to the entire country.

So far, only projects in the cities, such as Maputo and Beira, along the coast and on islands near the coast such as Bazaruto have been possible. The United States, Britain, the Netherlands, and South Africa are so far the largest developers and investors in Mozambique. But many more countries will follow once foreign investors are satisfied that the war has ended, which will ensure that their investments are safe.

The changes in Mozambique, as well as those taking place in South Africa, have enabled the two neighbors to become closer friends and for South Africa and Mozambique to cooperate more closely with each other for their mutual benefit. This closer cooperation will ensure greater stability to be benefit of the whole of southern Africa, and from this greater stability faster progress must accrue to all the countries of the subcontinent.

Viability of Movements' United Front Assessed

MB0312113190 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
3 Dec 90 p 12

[Article by Kaizer Nyatumba in the "Opinion" column:
"A Struggle That Defies Unity"]

[Text] Calls for the formation of a broad united front of South African liberation movements or anti-apartheid organisations have come and gone unheeded countless times in the past decade.

The calls, which tended to originate mainly from bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and some African countries, were directed mostly at the two oldest liberation movements, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), in the foreign capitals from which they operated.

The calls for a united front have been seen as a wise strategic move to enable the liberation movements to speak with one voice on black aspirations and exert maximum pressure on Pretoria to ditch apartheid and give way to a new democratic order. Various African leaders, including Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, have expressed support for such a front.

These persistent calls, however, have largely been ignored by the two organisations, and accusations and counter-accusations have abounded as to which organisation has constantly scuttled the calls, thus effectively ensuring that the front was still-born.

Top PAC leaders interviewed in Harare in September pointed accusing fingers at the pre-February 2 ANC leadership, which was based in Lusaka, saying it had constantly poured cold water on plans to form a united front. This, the PAC leaders said, was because the ANC believed itself invincible at the polls and therefore saw no reason for a united front.

ANC leaders have denied these allegations, and since his release on February 11 this year, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has been consistent in his calls for the formation of a broad front to speak with one voice at the negotiating table. Mr. Mandela, who paid a tribute to PAC acting president Clarence Makwethu, made this call again before African heads of state in Swaziland last month.

Mr. Mandela told the Swaziland conference that since Mr. Makwethu took over from the late Zephania Mothopeng last month, prospects for unity between the two organisations had never been brighter. Mr. Makwethu rose to the occasion, telling the conference he was in favour of a joint approach with the ANC to President de Klerk's reform initiatives and that the PAC would decide at its second national congress in Johannesburg next month whether or not to join the ANC in a united front.

But until calls for a united front emanate not only from the leaders but also from the different organisations' members themselves, the proposed united front will not take off. Significantly, while Mr. Mandela's position in the ANC is quite secure and he is quite likely to assume the ANC presidency when Oliver Tambo bows out of active politics next year, the same cannot be said with certainty about Mr. Makwethu.

The PAC leader stands on shaky ground, and there is the December 7-9 PAC national congress which will determine whether to confirm Mr. Makwethu in office.

In spite of the uncertainties, the leaders of the different organisations, including the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), are optimistic that such a front will get off

the ground. The ANC's Gill Marcus said her organisation had repeatedly stated that "to move forward, we have to get the oppressed together." It was for this reason the ANC had held talks with a variety of organisations, including homeland leaders.

Miss Marcus said all organisations which stood for peace, democracy and "the transfer of power to the majority" would be welcome in such a front, and this did not exclude the ANC's arch enemy, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), if it subscribed to the same ideals.

PAC general secretary Philemon Tefu was equally optimistic.

The PAC, he said, had always stood for "unity in action" among the oppressed, and it now welcomed Mr. Mandela's pronouncements on the need for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Like Mr. Tefu, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said his organisation had "always been pushing for unity among the oppressed." This was the reason Azapo had constantly called for a consultative conference of all the liberation movements, and he hoped the foundation for the formation of the united front would be laid at the meeting convened last week by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town. The successful outcome of that meeting will strengthen those hopes.

Despite the optimism expressed by the leaders, the united front's success will depend on its acceptance at grassroots.

The three organisations are all aware of this, and have pledged themselves to selling the idea vigorously to their followers.

The other serious issue presently dividing the potential partners is the question of negotiations with the Government. The ANC fully endorses negotiations and takes pride at having initiated the "peace process," but Azapo has rejected the Government's invitation to enter into exploratory talks, and the PAC has yet to announce its response to the invitation. Unless these organisations adopt the same position on negotiations, the planned united front could be short-lived.

The ANC's recent insistence on the need for a constituent assembly and an interim government is the only thing the three organisations now have in common.

What unifies these organisations, however, immediately puts them in direct confrontation with Inkatha, which argues that the situation in South Africa is different from that in the pre-independence Namibia and consequently rejects both a constituent assembly and an interim government.

But if all these organisations do indeed establish a united front, the National Party is unlikely to relish the prospect of sitting opposite a sea of black faces at the negotiating table.

4 Dec Press Review on Current Problems, Issues MB0412114790

[Editorial report]

THE STAR

Political Leaders Urged To Control Followers—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 4 December in a page 16 editorial states: "Competition for dominance before the constitutional negotiations start is so fierce among extra-parliamentary groups that townships are seething with tension and the contending parties are stoking the flames of partisanship while demanding full freedom to express their feelings. All the while the level of violence is rising steadily." Although the security forces have the task of "smothering violent clashes and preventing intimidation," political leaders "must also be active in controlling their followers. Now is the time for the long-delayed Mandela-Buthelezi summit. If peace is really their aim, these leaders must rise to the urgent challenge."

BUSINESS DAY

'Short-Sighted' To Discredit ANC—The view that discrediting the ANC is "short-sighted" needs to be "taken seriously," warns a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 4 December. "The emerging South Africa has little chance unless the majority of its citizens support the goals of the new society." But BUSINESS DAY also cautions against "paternalism," and stresses that "debate about the shape of the new society should be energetic and vigorous. Where groups such as the ANC table outmoded and impractical solutions to present problems, they should be told so, unambiguously."

SOWETAN

ANC-Government Confrontation Over Mass Marches—"An ugly confrontation between the Government and the ANC over the mass protest marches starting on Thursday [6 Dec] is very possible," notes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 4 December. "There are too many elements wishing to turn mass action into unhappy scenes of violence. The security forces have also not developed ways of keeping the peace during demonstrations. The spirit of political intolerance overall might lead to serious problems for the ANC, the people and the Government." "People must be allowed to march," but the ANC must also "realise that it is taking a gamble." If "things go wrong some of the blame will fall on the ANC."

TRANSVALER

Mandela Statements 'Not Reconcilable'—"Will the real Nelson Mandela stand up now, so that the cause of peace can best be served?" states Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 28 November in a page 10 editorial. Referring to the Pretoria meeting between Mandela and De Klerk, TRANSVALER says what Mandela says at occasions like this are "usually not reconcilable with what

he says later." South Africa needs "leaders who can bring calm instead of fanning the fires. It is disturbing to the general public that a year which started off with so much promise could end in violence and chaos." "The challenge to the two leaders is tremendous, but more so for Mr. Mandela. He will now have to demonstrate whether he can bring the wild men among his followers into line. He will have to help change attitudes."

BEELD

De Klerk, Mandela Anxious About Settlement Impasse—Following their talks on Tuesday 27 November President De Klerk and African National Congress (ANC) Deputy President Nelson Mandela decided not to disclose the entire contents of their talks—"a step obviously aimed at reducing the political temperature in the country," contends Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 29 November in a page 12 editorial. "The quarrels between the government and the ANC witnessed recently almost led to the danger of the leaders being caught up in their own fiery rhetoric." De Klerk and Mandela are both "anxious" about the "possibility of an impasse in the settlement process, and are unanimous in finding a plan to rule out this possibility. They are also bound to peaceful negotiations and the continuation of dialogue between leaders."

Diplomatic Relations With USSR Welcome—A second editorial on the same page says prospects of diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union and current visits by USSR delegations "serve as further confirmation of radical changes taking place in international relation toward South Africa. Since things are going so well between ourselves and the Russians, Red China cannot be too far behind, and that would mean having diplomatic ties with every member of the UN Security Council."

ANC Statements Provoke Conflict—"Less than 24 hours after President F.W. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela reaffirmed their commitment to removing obstacles and keeping negotiations on track, the ANC—out of the blue—releases a statement listing a number of demands and leveling accusations against the government," notes Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 30 November in a page 12 editorial. "To say one thing and then do another is clearly ANC style." "Negotiations can only succeed in a climate of reconciliation and tolerance, not in a climate of conflict provoked by the recent statement. The ANC has shown very few signs of fully understanding this basic principle of politics."

DIE BURGER

General Election Rejected—In his "From My Political Pen" column on page 18 of Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 28 November, columnist Dawie writes that the demand for a constitutional assembly to be elected before a new constitution is drawn up for the country is something "which simply will not work." "A

general election including blacks would certainly also be unconstitutional: the present constitution simply does not provide for this. Most important, though, it would overlook South Africa's sovereign, independent and internationally recognized government." Such an election would give a majority party an opportunity "to force its will on South Africa's many minorities." However, a "considerable number of parties have come forward recently, even from the national states. It ought not to be an insurmountable problem for these parties to be identified and consensus reached on their participation and status. Then the big indaba can begin, functioning as a constitutional assembly." Meanwhile, the government can go ahead governing the country into a new system. "Such a situation, long seen as the ideal for South Africa, remains the ideal."

ANC 'Deliberately Dragging' Feet Over Negotiations—A page 18 editorial in Cape Town DIE BURGER on 29 November in Afrikaans refers to the meeting in Pretoria between the government and the ANC, saying "it is encouraging that follow-up meetings are to be held to try to solve problems which still remain between the two sides." "It is becoming urgent that the ANC get its act together to stop giving the impression it is deliberately dragging its feet in order to retard the negotiation process."

VRYE WEEKBLAD

Mass Action To Mobilize ANC Support—A page 20 editorial in Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD in Afrikaans on 30 November says "'mass action' has suddenly become a fashionable word in politics." It is true that mass actions "per se are not conducive to stability," and that they "have a potential for violence." But "there is another side to this reality that the government and the white establishment do not see." "The black community's argument is that it was precisely mass action that caused the Berlin wall and the walls of dictatorship of East Europe to collapse." VRYE WEEKBLAD believes it is not only a "basic right to participate in mass actions," but it is also "healthy that people should use mass actions as an emotional release for feelings that have had to be suppressed for a long time." "This places a heavy burden on the ANC and other organizations to maintain the discipline," which VRYE WEEKBLAD believes can happen since "nearly every recent protest march that took place with the authorities' consent passed peacefully." Therefore, VRYE WEEKBLAD suspects the government and the business sector's "opposition to mass action is rather aimed at denying the ANC the opportunity to mobilize its supporters. It is short-sighted and irresponsible. The ANC will probably be the National Party and its allies' biggest political opponent in a coming election. After 30 years of underground work and active persecution, this organization now surely has the right to compete for public support at an equal level."

Angola

FAPLA Communique Reports Attacks by UNITA

*MB0312210790 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 3 Dec 90*

[Text] A communique from the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] General Staff issued in Luanda today reveals that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] terrorists destroyed a crude oil pipeline at Pangala Park, Soyo District, Zaire Province, on 1 December.

On the same day UNITA ambushed a civilian vehicle to the northeast of Cassonguidi in Lunda Norte Province, killing five civilians and wounding three others.

Also on 1 December, UNITA ambushed another vehicle in Cota, Malanje Province, killing two civilians and burning the vehicle.

What is more, UNITA killed two citizens at Chenga commune, Huambo Province, on 30 November.

On 29 November, UNITA looted Motumba ward to the northeast of Cafunfu in Lunda Norte, killing one civilian and wounding another. Also on 29 November, UNITA attacked a village near Balombo, Benguela Province, murdering one civilian and wounding another.

The communique also points out that following clashes in Benguela and Moxico Provinces on 30 November, FAPLA killed five UNITA elements and captured a quantity of war materiel.

Mauritius

* Unions Threaten January Strike

*91AF0252A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French
12 Nov 90 pp 1, 4*

[Article by Dharmanand Dhoocharika: "Union Action Set for January"]

[Text] All the trade union confederations (GWF [General Workers Federation], FSSC [Federation of Civil Service Trade Unions], FSCC [Federation of Unions of Constituent Bodies], OUA [Organization of Artisan Unity], FTU [United Workers Federation], and FPU [Federation of Progressive Unions]) belonging to the National Trade Union Council [NTUC], as well as the Mauritius Labor Congress [MLC] and the State Employees Federation [SEF], have urged Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth to listen to their demands, warning him that a strike will be called in January unless the tripartite employer-government-union committee is convoked before then to consider the special wage adjustment needed for workers to recover the purchasing power they have lost since July as a result of increases in the cost of living.

Top leaders of the NTUC—Francis Supparayen (president), Yousouf Sooklall (GWF), Gopalen Parapen (FPU), Dipnarainsing Bhuruth (FSCC), Chand Bhagirutty (president of the MLC), and Malleck Amode (SEF)—say their unions reject the assertion made by the prime minister and minister of finance that workers are not entitled to a special wage increase because the government already made an 11-percent adjustment.

GWF members will meet this afternoon at their federation headquarters on Rue Poudriere to discuss how much of an increase to demand. The nation's trade unions all reacted with anger and indignation to the prime minister's recent statement that the tripartite committee would not be convoked this year to consider a special wage adjustment.

According to the unions, the consumer price index (CPI) began rising in July, and in September an 8.8-point increase was registered.

NTUC president Francis Supparayen said the government's refusal to approve a special adjustment "is quite simply unjustified." "Ordinary government workers, the 'manual workers' at the bottom of the wage schedule, really deserve an adjustment, and they cannot be penalized again this year," he said, adding that all Mauritian workers deserve a special adjustment because of the high level of inflation. He also noted that the end-of-year bonus cannot be treated as a substitute for the loss of purchasing power.

Mr. Supparayen believes the prime minister and minister of finance should adopt a firm policy of granting a special wage adjustment whenever the cost of living goes up more than five percent. According to the NTUC and the recommendations of the Chesworth Report, workers in the civil service, local communities and parastatal bodies are clearly entitled to an adjustment of at least 20 percent.

In response to the prime minister's refusal, the NTUC is going to hold a big meeting tomorrow of all its delegates and leaders in hopes they will agree on the specific increase to be demanded.

Mr. Chand Bhagirutty, president of the MLC, complained this morning about what he called the shocking disrespect for organized labor shown by the prime minister's announcement there would be no special wage adjustment this year. He said the MLC/SEF supported the trade union confederations in their demand for a special wage adjustment.

"The household budgets of thousands of workers were stretched to the breaking point by the September CPI increase," said Mr. Bhagirutty, again urging the prime minister to show good sense and wisdom by reversing the wage adjustment decision without further delay. He indicated the MLC/SEF would come out fighting in the very near future on this issue.

"Personally, I do not think Mauritius is in an economic crisis. It is true the effects of the Gulf crisis are beginning to be felt, but the government cannot use the crisis as a pretext for refusing to give the workers a wage adjustment. We have more than 11 billion rupees in hard-currency reserves. All the indicators show the economy is running normally. We have a good sugar harvest compared to last year. The tourist and textile sectors are doing just fine. Any government that calls itself socialist should agree to labor's request and approve a special wage adjustment with no hesitation," Mr. Bhagirutty told MAURICIEN this morning.

We asked him what kind of labor action MLC/SEF plans to mount to get the adjustment.

He replied: "First of all, we are going to mobilize the workers. They must show their support. Above all, we must not let the trade unions fight this battle alone. They cannot do it without support. We must not forget we are dealing with a callous government. The workers cannot count on the government in place to protect their interests. It is concerned only to protect investors and local capitalists. So the workers have to quit thinking the government will provide for them. We are dealing with an antiworker government, because it refuses to convoke the tripartite committee. The workers in general must not expect too much of this government. They must stand up on their own two feet to defend their interests."

The MLC/SEF also protests the increase in the price of natural gas for household use.

* Effects of Gulf Crisis on Sugar Industry

91AF0239A Port Louis THE SUN in French
10 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by Prosi; first paragraph is THE SUN introduction]

[Text] Because of the Gulf crisis, Mauritius is experiencing another oil shock. It became a reality 14 September when price increases on petroleum products went into effect. The 42.86-percent increase in the price of gasoline and the 50.78-percent increase in diesel fuel are considerable and their repercussions on the sugar industry are significant. One direct effect—increased fuel bills—is already being felt by sugar producers, while other direct effects such as increased freight rates, and added costs resulting from certain indirect effects are still difficult to determine with precision. In addition, the price of white sugar on the world market has begun a downward trend since the start of the conflict. The sugar industry's Public Relations Office confirms the repercussions on the Mauritian sugar industry.

The oil shock has repercussions reaching beyond its immediate effects as illustrated in rough outline form in Figure A [not reproduced]. Some effects are obvious and can even be estimated with a fair amount of accuracy, while others involve unknown parameters and factors that cannot be determined at the present time. On the

subject of the effects of the crisis, Mr. Jean-Claude Tyack, secretary general of the Chamber of Agriculture, stated, "There are still too many unknowns for us to venture any particular estimate, but in analyzing the situation, it is apparent that it will have a negative impact on many items on the balance sheet—and on major items at that. The price to pay may be considerable." It therefore seems more appropriate at this stage to analyze the qualitative aspects of the repercussions that are listed below and to anticipate the consequences.

Oil as a Source of Energy

Increased prices for petroleum products have an immediate and direct impact on the sugar industry's transportation costs. Between good years and bad, there is an average of 6 million metric tons of sugarcane to be moved from the fields to the sugar mills and 650,000 metric tons of sugar to be transported from the sugar mills to Port Louis where it is loaded onto bulk carriers or container ships destined overseas or distributed to Mauritian consumers. And tractors, trucks, and ships consume large amounts of fuel—diesel fuel, in particular.

Sugar producers are already seeing increases in their fuel bills on the order of 50 percent for transporting cane and sugar locally. Bulk shipping rates, on the other hand, have yet to rise, probably due to the fact that ships are available now that traffic to Arab countries has fallen off. With a few reservations, Mr. Michel Hardy, director of the Sugar Syndicate, explains that "this situation can only be temporary and will change if the crisis continues." In his opinion, shipping companies' operating costs and the cost of filling ships' bunkers with fuel will rise, resulting in increased overseas freight rates. As Mr. Hardy further explains, "Some shipping companies have already announced a surcharge of 100 dollars per container of sugar shipped and it is likely that the effects of the Gulf crisis will, in the short term, result in an across-the-board rise in freight rates."

The Effects of Mechanization

Mechanization has resulted in a growing reliance on machines in the many operations involved in sugar cultivation. In preparing fields, in harvesting and loading sugarcane, in applying fertilizer or weed killer, in cultivating vegetables and other products in the interests of crop diversification, mechanized means are widely present. Already, five harvesting machines are ready to go to work and 90,000 metric tons of cane are expected to be harvested mechanically this year. Moreover, 2.5 million metric tons of cane (about 40 percent of the total harvest) are loaded mechanically.

All of these machines require petroleum products in order to run and the bill will inevitably be higher. According to Mr. Hansraj Ruhee, president of the Chamber of Agriculture, the mechanization program

should nonetheless be pursued. He believes that "mechanization, even if it will cost more, enables planters to maximize their resources and better withstand the crisis."

Preparing Fields

If mechanization is to be successful, land must be prepared accordingly. Large-scale projects to clear fields of stones are under way, for example in Mon-Loisir. Fields are prepared in such a way as to facilitate the use of harvesting machines, loading machines, and other mechanical equipment. The powerful tractors used in preparing fields are also heavy consumers of petroleum products and wherever diesel fuel is involved, increased operating costs are inevitable. Mr. Roland Rambert, manager of the Rempart River Sugar Company, estimates that the annual diesel fuel bill for clearing fields in Mon-Loisir will rise from 371,000 rupees to 557,000.

Personnel Costs

The sugar industry employs some 60,000 employees. The law requires that all agricultural and nonagricultural workers be reimbursed the cost of commuting to work if they live more than 3.2 kilometers from their place of work, unless transportation is provided by the employer. The sugar producer must therefore bear the transportation costs of the majority of his employees and those costs are also affected by the price increase of some 50 percent.

Every day, the buses and vans of the sugar companies transport their employees' children to school. When company transportation is not available, the cost of the public bus service is reimbursed. In either case, the increase is felt.

Raw Materials and By-Products

A number of raw materials are required in the cultivation and processing of cane into sugar and they must be delivered from Port Louis to the fields and sugar mills. Every year, the entire sugar industry uses about 70,000 metric tons of fertilizer and one can imagine the amount of diesel fuel required to transport it. Among the other inputs required are spare parts for the factories and garages, equipment and machines, lubricating oil, and construction materials.

In addition, the by-products of sugarcane—molasses and skimmings—are also transported. Molasses is sent on to Port Louis and skimmings are returned to the fields. Moreover, 17,000 metric tons of bagasse are transported from Deep River-Beau Champ, Constance, La Gaiete, and Mon Desert-Alma, to the FUEL [expansion unknown] power plant where they are burned to produce electricity. Once again, the consumption of petroleum products in transporting raw materials or by-products is of concern given the crisis.

Transportation Costs Equal Mill Costs

The many illustrations given above clearly demonstrate the impact of oil price increases on a sugar company's transportation budget. In fact, the cost of transportation has not stopped rising and the recent increases confirm a trend that is difficult to believe: Transportation accounts for as large a share of a company's budget as its factory and in some cases more. It all goes to show how much of a burden transportation costs increasingly represent to the sugar sector.

Widespread Use of Petroleum Products

Petroleum is a basic commodity used to make many products that meet common needs. Moreover, it is widely used as a fuel in the industrial sector in Mauritius and abroad. It is therefore to be feared that the rise in crude oil prices will sooner or later make itself felt on the cost of producing petroleum products and on everything that requires such products in one form or another.

In other words, eventual increases can be expected in manufacturing costs in the metallurgical sector, in petrochemicals, and in electricity with the risk of chain-reaction increases resulting in widespread inflation. Equipment used in factories, transportation, and repair shops, spare parts, tires, fertilizers, weed killers, and fungicides could have more expensive price tags in the future. Moreover, any rise in electricity rates would immediately affect the cost of irrigation.

Combined Effects

Whether the effects are direct or indirect, they all drive prices up, contributing toward increased production costs for sugar and cane by-products: bagasse and the electrical power sold to the national network of the Central Electricity Board; molasses and the products derived from it; and skimmings that are returned to the fields. By the same token, it is obvious that production costs in the sector's crop diversification effort will also rise to a significant degree.

Falling Sugar Prices

While raw material and commodity prices usually rise in times of war or impending conflict, thus far the Gulf crisis has failed to cause a surge in sugar prices on the world market.

Its failure to do so is the result of shrinking demand for sugar in Arab countries that are usually large importers of sugar (white sugar, in particular). Iraq, which imports some 600,000 metric tons of white sugar a year, as well as Iran and Jordan, have withdrawn their invitations to tender and ceased to purchase sugar for the time being.

The crisis threatens to deplete the financial resources of these countries and, consequently, their purchasing power. Moreover, the premium for white sugar has dropped markedly since the crisis began, partly due to shrinking demand in Arab countries. The price of white

sugar on the world market has fallen from 360 dollars to 315 dollars per metric ton in recent weeks.

Black Gold and Green Energy

The contemporary world is highly dependent on oil and Mauritius is no exception to that rule. The same sugar industry that will have to bear the consequences of rising oil prices can also contribute in a significant way toward reducing dependency on oil for electric power. On 14 September, the prime minister raised this issue at the ceremony marking the start of the Small Planter Efficiency Study (SPES). He stated that without energy, the country would not be able to attain an adequate level of industrial development. "Today, 15 percent of our electricity is generated from bagasse and, according to our technicians, we can double that rate. If that proves true, it would be of great assistance to our future development," he added.

Our national energy policy should be clarified so that producers and consumers are satisfied with the terms under which electricity is sold and purchased. While sugar companies possess an energy-making resource, they need to have a more precise idea as to how profitable their facilities would be before they invest heavily.

Which Scenario To Expect?

In two months, the Gulf crisis has wrought many changes and altered parameters affecting the sugar industry from both near and far. Various scenarios have been painted. Some have already become a reality, while others are still hypothetical. Whatever the scenario, the consequences will be negative.

For the sugar industry, the consequences of the Gulf crisis appear to be a serious threat to the industry's profitability, all the more because they are occurring at a time when the successive increases of July 1990 (11-percent compensation) and September 1990 (an 18-percent increase awarded by the Permanent Arbitration Tribunal) are weighing heavily on the industry.

It is up to everyone to face the situation and rise to this new challenge.

Mozambique

President Chissano Addresses News Conference

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[Speech by President Joaquim Chissano to national and foreign journalists; followed by question and answer session; at the President Chissano's working office in Maputo on 29 November—live]

[Text] Distinguished representatives of the Mozambican media, distinguished representatives of the foreign

media, ladies and gentlemen: As I greet you, I would like to thank you for accepting my invitation to attend this news conference.

When they told me there were many journalists, I thought you would be about half the number of people I see here. Thus, I see there is much interest in this news conference and I hope it will be very useful.

Through all of you, I would like to inform the nation and the world that the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, approved by the People's Assembly's First Special Session, will come into force at 0000 on 30 November 1990.

Thus, we shall begin a new chapter in the history of Mozambique, thereby extending the spirit and content of the whole political process which the Mozambique Liberation Front, Frelimo, began nearly 30 years ago.

The new Constitution reflects the profound desire for freedom, justice, harmony, and progress that has always characterized the Mozambican people's struggle for national independence. This is a desire that has always been at the root of the work Frelimo has done throughout its existence. Frelimo has always been concerned with responding to the Mozambican people's aspirations, even if its work has led—as it has done on many occasions—to the highest sacrifices.

The new Constitution is not an end in itself. Instead, it represents a means by means of which the Mozambican people can exercise power as well as deepen and enrich their experience in the exercise of democracy.

The Mozambican people are the only subject of our history. For that reason, the Mozambican people will always have the full exercise of power. We have come a long way to arrive at this solemn time in the history of Mozambique. We have always been guided by our desire for ever greater democracy. We have been forging and perfecting the model that is most appropriate to the national reality, the need for change, and the desire for innovation.

The culmination of this whole process was the approval of the new Constitution by the People's Assembly's First Special Session.

The Mozambican nation has been involved in most complex exercise of democracy ever since 9 January 1990, when I publicly presented the draft project for revising the Constitution. The draft project for revising the Constitution was the subject of a detailed and extensive improvement debate. Very valuable proposals and suggestions were put forth. This was a new spirit of openness coming into being. It made millions of Mozambicans spend many hours thinking about, analyzing, and discussing the country's problems and the future they wish to see.

The majority of the people spoke in favor of retaining a one-party system. However, there were strong opinion

currents supporting the introduction of a multiparty system. This was particularly the case in the cities.

We were able to reconcile respect for ideas and individual and collective viewpoints and stands, though they were often very different. We achieved this through understanding, tolerance, desire for openness, creativity, and innovation.

It is healthy and reinvigorating when people can discuss their differences with a constructive approach. We must be able to live with each other, even when we are different. We must be able to accept that we can disagree with each other. However, we must always find the correct ways to conduct democratic discussions in a spirit of reciprocal tolerance among patriots. In this way, we will be able to make the best decisions at each given time for the good of our country's future.

The choice of a multiparty system arises from the need for rendering our political process more dynamic. This political process should give organized groups and citizens greater freedom of political expression and the option to freely choose their representatives in the organs of power.

We hope that the joining of efforts by political parties of different persuasions will also render our economic and social development more dynamic. We also hope that this will help resolve the more pressing problems faced by the Mozambican nation.

Democracy is also a means for releasing physical and intellectual energies so that we can be more committed to the many tasks involved in national reconstruction. With the introduction of a multiparty system in tandem with guarantees for the citizens' freedoms and rights, there is no longer any reason for inhibitions concerning opinions that may help revolve problems, correct errors, or throw light on abuses.

The Frelimo Party is not the only one faced with the challenge of the multiparty system. It will also be a challenge to the forces that will openly act within the national political framework. It will also be a challenge to each citizen of the Republic of Mozambique. We say that this is a challenge because a multiparty system, under the circumstances currently faced by our country, is not without its dangers. The multiparty system is not without its dangers, but these are dangers we must be able to confront and overcome.

The fact that the Frelimo Party has been the promoter of change is yet further evidence of its profound respect for the Mozambican people's legitimate aspirations. At this stage, the Frelimo Party must continue fighting to ensure that Mozambique's future political scenario will be one of debate rather than conflict, freedom rather than constraints, and peace rather than violence.

With the new Constitution, we have fully created the conditions for all Mozambican citizens to have more freedom in expressing their ideas and advancing their

proposals for greater development, justice, and well-being. The people are now in the position freely to opt for whatever alternatives they may feel respond best to their aspirations, thereby democratically altering the established political and social order whenever the majority so wishes.

There is no longer place for political violence in our country. I hereby renew my call on Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] to accept this democratic order, to actively and peacefully participate in the building of a new Mozambique, and to allow our people to convey their political, economic, and social proposals.

Force and the threat of force cannot continue to be political tools in our country. The use of force must be completely done away with so that much desired peace can be achieved in our country.

The future of peace and development we want demands a climate of harmony, reconciliation, freedom, and absolute respect for the rights of our citizens. It demands the participation of every Mozambican in it. That is the direction to which the new Constitution points. Thank you very much.

[Unidentified official] In order to begin the questions and answers period, I invite Mr. Marcelino Alves to pose his question.

[Alves] I am Marcelino Alves from the Portuguese radio station, Antenna 1. Mr. President, Renamo has stated that it rejects the new Constitution. I would like to know is whether this is not a serious obstacle to the ongoing Rome talks for a peace accord.

[Chissano] Renamo has not yet said that to us. At the negotiating table Renamo hasn't yet said what it rejects politically because we haven't yet begun discussing political issues. I might say that we are still in a preliminary stage of the talks.

However, if Renamo says that it rejects the Constitution then it means we haven't even begun dialogue when in fact it is holding talks with the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique; it would be the same as if we said that we reject Renamo's existence.

Secondly [as heard], it is necessary that Renamo should be aware that nothing less than three million Mozambicans have taken part in the Constitutional debates. Renamo should be aware that even renowned foreign individuals have taken part in the debates, giving their views and making assessments so that the debates could be successful. We recall the various seminars attended by jurists from various quarters who showed interest in the process. At the end of this process we were congratulated by people from all over the world. Our people...[pause] There were festivities in all provinces in support of the Constitution.

So, if Renamo says it doesn't agree with the Constitution it means that it doesn't agree with the millions of Mozambicans who have drafted the Constitution; it

doesn't agree with the 300,000 Mozambicans who effectively took part in the debates, airing their views on the Constitution.

Renamo was given the opportunity to air its views. Actually, I should say that by a mere pleasant chance there were two Renamo officials present when we discussed the Constitution with other Mozambicans in the United States. They expressed some of their views and took some copies of the draft Constitution proposals. We even spoke to them. So, Renamo has had more than enough time to air its views on the Constitution during the debates.

Therefore, Renamo will have to do something very simple, that is, to take part in the country's democratic life, and to secure the seats to which it is likely to be entitled in the Assembly of the Republic, a venue where it will be able to discuss any law, and even introduce whatever changes it wishes to the Constitution. So, Renamo has time to do it. We cannot stop things from moving on in Mozambique and wait for Renamo so that it may say what laws should be introduced in the People's Republic of Mozambique. When Renamo creates conditions to take part in the process, it will be able to do so. It will be free to discuss all issues at length, and if it so wishes, Renamo can change the Constitution. Every party will be able to do that. Even if tomorrow Frelimo realizes that the Constitution is unsuitable, it can propose changes. So, we haven't yet reached the end of the road. Thank you very much for your question.

[Christie] I am Iain Christie of Radio Mozambique's external service. Mr. President I would like to know whether you are still a socialist, and whether you will lead a socialist Frelimo Party during next year's elections.

[Chissano] It is my belief and conviction that socialism is a necessity, particularly in a country like ours. So, the Frelimo Party will pursue the struggle—obviously, a political one—in order to build socialism, bearing in mind that socialism is not built on the basis of mere desires. Socialism is built through constructive work, training, and socioeconomic development. So, Frelimo is pursuing its goals to consolidate national unity, independence, and democracy, and to build socialism. So, that will be Frelimo's program.

The Constitution we have proposed doesn't mention socialism because it's a Constitution that provides for the surfacing of all views in the course of national reconstruction, and the construction of our country and nation. However, Frelimo has always opted for socialism as a necessity of the Mozambican people, and it will continue that way.

I could add that even Frelimo, when it proposed the new Constitution, didn't have problems in suggesting that our country's socioeconomic development should be based, among other things, on market forces. Nobody

should get confused about it. We think that market forces are not necessarily contrary to the final goals of socialist construction.

[Ferra] I am Pedro Ferra from the Portuguese DIRIGIR magazine. Mr. President, you spoke about the start of democratic changes. I would like to know if this process will not be put at stake considering that the defense and security forces are still partisan.

[Chissano] There is a great misunderstanding there. In the People's Republic of Mozambique we have national Armed Forces. It is no secret that in order to join the Armed Forces one doesn't need a Frelimo membership card. It is done through the compulsory military service with which every Mozambican should comply, regardless of his ideology and political affiliation. So, the Mozambique Armed Forces, the Police, and even the security forces are not partisan. They do not belong to Frelimo. Like any other organization, they owe allegiance to Frelimo because there is only one party in Mozambique, particularly because the same nucleus that led to the creation of the Armed Forces was the one consisting of men who fought to liberate the country. Those men ensured the proclamation of independence, and defended the country from cross border attacks soon after independence. However, our Armed Forces and the Defense and Security Forces are national forces.

Whereas the Constitution provides for the creation of other parties and political forces, it has already addressed itself to any queries that could emerge. For instance, it has made it clear that the commander in chief of the Mozambique Armed Forces is the president of the Republic. This means that as of 1 December, whoever is the president he will be the commander in chief of the Armed Forces. Likewise, after the elections the commander in chief will be the elected president, instead of the Frelimo chairman.

It is true to say that in any country, governments appoint to key posts people they trust. So, people the government trusted—and it was a Frelimo government—were appointed to lead the Armed Forces. This will continue to be the case. I am sure that nowadays trust will be based on patriotism and loyalty to the Constitution, and love to the people. There won't be ideological principles involved. Likewise, if the president belonged to Frelimo, he wouldn't hesitate to have elements who sympathized with other parties in the Armed Forces' officers corps. Obviously, a new working system will have to be defined for the Armed Forces. We cannot conduct party activities within the Armed Forces, otherwise every party would do the same, issuing different guidelines. This won't be allowed, not even to Frelimo or any other party likely to win the elections. We will have a national Army, and our Armed Forces will be national to which every citizen may belong, under the same principles. Thank you. I don't know whether I have answered your question.

[Machado] I am Jose Alberto Machado from Portuguese Radio and Television. Mr. President, do your introductory remarks mean that you will cease to be the chairman of the Frelimo Party, and will become the president of all Mozambicans, as an independent citizen?

[Chissano] No. The Constitution does not say that it is compulsory that one should cease to lead a party in order to become a candidate or president of the Republic. So, the need to end one's leadership of a party will be a matter to be discussed by the party itself. The party might prefer that a president elect should cease to have another leading position in the party. Likewise, the party might decide to continue to operate under the existing conditions. This is a matter to be decided by the party itself.

[Unidentified reporter in English] Mr. President, (if I can ask) this in English. First of all, what should Renamo do if they do want to participate in the next election? In other words, what legal steps should Renamo take if they want to participate in the next election? If you don't mind [words indistinct] with a message in English to what the new Constitution means?

[Chissano in English] Well, I just understood that you want to know what steps Renamo should take in order to participate in the forthcoming elections. Well, the essential thing is that Renamo should stop the war. No party will be allowed to run for election while practicing acts of violence. So, we hope that in Rome we will achieve an agreement and that there will be a cease-fire. And in fact, we will start a process by which we may eventually merge the forces which today are fighting so that there is mutual trust and cooperation in a peaceful running of the elections.

So, peace is essential for the participation of any party. I mean, peaceful behavior. Now, all parties will be required to fulfill certain prerequisites which will be established in a law, a law on parties. And that law will soon be approved by the assembly which from two days to come, after two days it will be called the Assembly of the Republic. And the law will say more, will answer better to your question. I cannot (prevent) the assembly now.

[Kabir] I am Suleimane Kabir of the BBC. Mr. President, the members of some opposition groups to whom I have spoken, regard the People's National Security Service [SNASP] as a political police. Should those groups demand the abolition of SNASP, will their demand be favorably considered?

[Chissano] I would like to negotiate with Renamo. So, I am waiting for Renamo to air its problems at the negotiating table. Then we will discuss and address their questions. Like I said, the talks are still in a preliminary phase. We don't know what Renamo will raise at the negotiating table.

However, in order not to give the impression that I am evading your question, I should say that if you talk to

anyone in this room, you will not find a single one in whose country there is not a service similar to the one you have referred. The nature of each service might be different, but you will not find a single country without such an institution.

So, when you talk of abolishing SNASP, I don't know whether Renamo will want to raise that issue at the Rome talks. Thank you.

[Klaus in English] My name is Klaus [name indistinct] from German television ZDF [Second Television Program]. Mr. President, coming from Germany we experienced a dramatic new development in Europe, and not only in Germany but in the whole of Europe. But living in South Africa for a couple of years, we see some new development in Southern Africa, in your country, and in South Africa as well. How do you see the future development between your two countries, and how do you foresee the new development in South Africa. How things are helping to upgrade, to improve the situation in the whole of Southern Africa? [sentence as received]

[Chissano in English] How many questions?

[Klaus] That's the one question I have.

[Chissano] Radio listeners often find it difficult when I answer in English. I hope that you will understand that often I have to answer in English when journalists put their questions in English. It means that they will understand me better when I speak in English. However, I wonder if the journalist, who has just asked me a question, minds that I answer in Portuguese.

Well, the journalist insists that it would be better that I speak in English. If I understood your question correctly, you wanted to know about the future relations between Mozambique and South Africa. Is that correct?

[Klaus in English] Yes. Plus, in addition how does this new development help the whole region of southern Africa?

[Chissano] Very well. The relations between Mozambique and any other country are based on principles. Our principles include the independence and freedom of peoples, the mutual respect for each one's sovereignty, equality, cooperation, peace and, in the case of neighboring countries, good neighborliness.

So, as far as South Africa is concerned, we are for the freedom of the South African people and for an end to apartheid. We are for democracy. Our relations with South Africa improved as they became peaceful. They improved further when there were positive developments toward the abolition of apartheid with the participation of the South African people and their political organizations. Our relationship with South Africa has improved a great deal. We have good neighboring relations. We are waiting for better developments during the ongoing negotiations to end apartheid so that we may further develop our economic, social, cultural, and other relations. For the time being, we have normal contacts

with South Africa, based on respect. Moreover, we encourage the South African Government to continue this process which will lead to the abolition of apartheid and the establishment of democracy.

Through that policy, we have prepared the ground for an era of cooperation not only between Mozambique and South Africa, but among all Southern African countries. We are happy because we are also in touch with the democratic forces in South Africa, who have begun to think in terms of an ulterior regional cooperation whereby South Africa will play an important role. Recently, President Mandela said he wanted regional cooperation without exploitation. [Chissano gives an English version of his preceding statement]

[Cossa] I am Elias Cossa from the MOZAMBIQUE INFORMATION AGENCY [AIM]. Mr. President, what steps have been taken to transform the Frelimo-led state into a genuinely democratic state? Will the 1991 State Budget continue to subsidize the Frelimo Party?

The first part of your question can be answered without any problem.

There is a tape recorder here which is not working well. I don't know if it belongs to the same journalist who wants to record my answer. [laughter among audience] Is it yours? It belongs to that journalist over there. Look, another tape recorder that is faulty. Please, change your tapes.

Well, let me answer the question. If any tape recorder is faulty, we will have to be patient.

Like I was saying, your first question can be answered very easily. The constitutional debates were held in an atmosphere conducive to the establishment of a multi-party system in our country. So, it was a great step in preparing the population. Actually, at the right time we said that our people needed some preparation in order to move toward a democratic system. The constitutional debate was a great step in that direction.

Secondly [as heard], our government system has for some time now made these overtures be felt, even within our party. This is not by mere chance because Frelimo was prepared in case there were a categorical demand from the Mozambican people to maintain the one-party system. Like I was saying, Frelimo was prepared to create conditions for greater overtures even within the one-party system whereby views would be freely aired. I should say, more freely. We would have striven to end inhibitions. So, steps have already been taken. One should point out that these steps have been taken gradually, starting with the preparation of the Fifth Frelimo Party Congress. It could have been seen during mass rallies.

Regarding your second question, it will be certainly addressed by the Law on Parties. If you have patience you will get the answer in the Law on Parties. So, as usual, I would not like to take advantage of this news

conference to influence the decisions to be made by the Assembly of the Republic. It won't take long before the debates take place. You need only to look at how parties operate in various countries to have an idea. Obviously, you cannot quote the chairman of Frelimo or the president of the Republic of Mozambique. What I mean is that the answer to your question will be given by the Law on Parties.

[Holloway in English] Mr. President, Dave Holloway from the WASHINGTON POST. I want ask you once you have a cease-fire and in order perhaps to encourage national reconciliation, would you consider allowing Renamo to form with you some kind of government of national reconciliation before elections are held, or would you consider just simply bringing in some Renamo people into your government to encourage the process of national reconciliation?

[Chissano in English] Well, I will start answering in English. We are preparing a Law on Parties and I am sure that parties will be formed. I don't know why at this stage a government of national reconciliation should be formed with Renamo and not with another group or another party. My opinion is that even if in the future the parties have to come into a coalition to form a government, this must have an indicative and this indicative will come from the expression of the people. And this cannot be done before elections.

You have countries where you have parties where there have been elections. You know what is the strength of each party and, therefore, you can chose to form a coalition with one party or another. But now, what indication do I have that Renamo on political basis is stronger than any other party which may be formed? So, I think that at this first election we should go there as parties and then we will discover how far strong we are, and we say, I have to form a coalition government with any other parties. I have to determine how many I will take from, let us say, Renamo, or let us say Unamo [Mozambican National Union] or let's say Monamo [Mozambique Nationalist Movement], let's say—what they call it?—Palmo [Mozambique Liberal and Democratic Party]. Well, these are the names of groups which are coming in. I don't know whether they at the end will become parties or not.

So, there are many groups scattered in the world, and maybe they will become parties, but I don't know how many I would take from each group because I don't know what do they represent. And I will know it only when the electoral process starts—at least when the electoral process starts. I may guess then when there will be peace, when Renamo will not have arms in their hands. Then we can judge. Today it's very difficult to make that kind of judgment.

[Chissano, in Portuguese] My answer to the question of whether our government would consider forming a united government with Renamo [pauses] I already know the opinion of people listening to me on the radio.

However, I have to answer the journalist's question. [Chissano gives a Portuguese version of his preceding English statement]

[Borger, in English] Julian Borger, BBC. Many people, especially journalists, have drawn parallels between what is happening here and all the upheavals in East Europe. Do you think there was a link? Do you feel as though you are part of one big global movement toward democracy, or is it a purely Mozambican affair?

[Chissano, in English] Thank you very much. I think I would be naive if I said that there is no link, but the link which exists is the link which exists all over the world. Even in Western Europe, what is happening there has got a link with what is happening in East Europe, and what is happening in Mozambique has a lot of links with what is happening in Europe.

I never had such a big press conference before where people from Europe, from America come with so much interest about what is happening in Mozambique. This is occurring because there is a link of what is happening in any country of the world. But if you want to suggest that we are changing in Mozambique because the eastern countries have changed, I would say that you are mistaken.

We have been in a constant change in Mozambique. We have had our fourth congress and our fifth congress, and in all these congresses of Frelimo you could notice very visible changes in our society. Even in the exercise of democracy the way we did it in 1977, it was not the same as we did in subsequent elections, and it will not be the same today. We have been changing.

You know that we did not ask for permission of any Eastern country to join the Lome Convention, which means a stronger relationship with the EEC. We did not ask for permission to any country in the East or in the West to enter into an accord with South Africa—the Nkomati Accord. This made the change.

The (?steps) which we undertook to start talks with the United States of America and to start improving our relations with the United States of America, especially from 1982, did not obey to any changes in the East.

And we may say that we did not know about perestroika. Gorbachev was not there yet. When we introduced all sorts of changes into our economic performance, we did not ask anybody to allow us to seek for membership in the IMF or the World Bank.

So, you can see a lot of examples which show you that we are not changing because there are changes in the East. But we are changing because we are a young country. We could not be perfect at birth. We have grown, we adapt, we know how to walk, and then we know how to run, we know how to better choose what we should do today and what we should not do. And we are growing. We are only 15 years old, but I am proud that a lot of countries have got something to learn from us, including the countries

in the East. We never saw any country in the East discuss the constitution in the streets, in the factories, in the farms, involving an assembly or a national parliament of 3 million people. We did it. I think those who thought that: Well, this would not work, now they are astonished because it did work. It did work.

In Europe you have television, of course, but your people don't answer. They listen, they look, they are influenced. Here we had 3 million people who could answer by voice or by clapping hands, or by singing or by dancing. They had an expression, a visible one, which showed us what we should do. This was not done in the East Europe countries.

(?It was) a change, which apart Renamo [as heard] has occurred peacefully. And in many countries in the East we know that things were not so easy. So, the only link which I can see is the same link every other country has with the changes in the world.

The situation is bad economically for everyone, even including the U.S. and England. The situation is bad. The international situation is bad. So, everybody is changing. Even governments are changing due to the situation in the respective countries of economic nature, political nature, and so on, social nature. So, this is the answer to what (?made) the changes in our country.

[Unidentified official] We have a further six journalists who have registered for this news conference. There are people who still want to register. It happens that we have run out of time. So, we might perhaps allow two more people to ask questions. First, Mr. Fernando Lima.

[Lima] Fernando Lima, AIM. The constitution that will come into effect within a few hours includes a number of democratic freedoms, notably freedom of expression and freedom of the press. However, there are several interpretations whereby the principle of freedom of the press should be suspended until a press law is approved and comes into effect. Mr. President, do you think that freedom of the press in our country should be suspended pending the approval of that law?

[Chissano] Well, the honorable journalist has spoken of suspending freedom of the press. Surely the existing freedom of the press will not be suspended. It exists. There is freedom.

The improvements one wants to make will be made. Now, if you ask what Mr. president thinks, I would say that right now Mr. president does not even have to think about this issue. It is a constitutional issue. It's the Constitution which states that there should be a law to regulate freedom of the press. It's not Mr. president who has to decide or not decide whether there should be a law or not. It's a constitutional matter. So, there should be a law, and it should be drafted.

Like I have said on many occasions, it is the journalists themselves who ought to contribute to introducing a law that is as perfect as possible and which owes as much

allegiance to national interests as possible. So, journalists and the relevant government institutions with legislative powers should take the initiative. The government, the Council of Ministers, and I will do our best so that the press law is introduced as soon as possible. So, it's the Constitution that demands this. It's not a question of suspending freedom of the press. As it stands now, there is freedom of the press, and it should be upheld. Improvements should be made on the basis of what the Constitution states. Whatever needs to be regulated will of course have to wait for approval.

[Unidentified official] Mr. Ken Verner.

[Verner, in English] Mr. President, Ken Verner of the Argus Africa News Service. I wonder if you could just clarify a few points about how an election is going to be carried out under the new constitution. I believe that proportional representation has been rejected in favor of a winner-takes-all system. Will the country be divided up in constituencies and each constituency then be a winner-take-all system, or there will be one vote and whoever wins a majority will then form a government?

And the second part, if I may not get a second chance: Would you be prepared to allow any international body, like the UN, to monitor such an election?

[Chissano, in English] Well, the Constitution is clear on what system will be [as heard], but the Constitution also requires that an electoral law be approved. We as a party, Frelimo, who had this initiative, have already established some principles under which the proposal on the electoral law should be drafted. And as you know we will go for a direct suffrage, universal suffrage. Therefore, we will have to find mechanisms which will enable people to go to the polls and vote directly. And I think that the best way is to have the country divided into constituencies, but it is the electoral law which will give precision on how things will work. And the law has been drafted.

It will not be discussed during the forthcoming national assembly, first because the law is a complicated one. Well, it's not too complicated. We don't want it to be complicated, but it's a vast law. It comprises many aspects, and the discussion of this law will take some time. This is the first reason.

The second reason is that we wish that the different political groups may bring their own contribution to the electoral law, although for the time being the law can only be approved by a legal organ which is the Assembly of the Republic, according to the Constitution. But we want to hear as much as possible from the different groupings which will come in, but all the views to be expressed should be in accordance with the Constitution.

Therefore, your question will be fully answered by the electoral law when it comes—I hope sometime next year, much before the elections. I don't want again to give you my opinion. I think I will voice my opinion in the

assembly when it meets—if at all I attend to that meeting—which is sovereign to discuss and approve the law. Thank you.

Peace Talks Mediator Returns to Maputo 3 Dec

*MB0312185290 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 3 Dec 90*

[Text] Beira Archbishop Jaime Goncalves returned to Maputo this afternoon after taking part in the Rome talks between the Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance].

Speaking to our correspondent, Jaime Goncalves described the accord signed in the Italian capital as an important step in that the country has been experiencing violence for many years.

He added, quote, those who are involved in violence have always been reluctant to lay down arms. They believed that it was necessary to fight, unquote. He emphasized that with the accord signed in Rome, that view seems to have changed. He said that there are concrete signs that people believe that weapons can be silenced and that political, social, and economic problems can be resolved without the use of arms.

Meanwhile, Information Minister Teodato Hunguana, who also took part in the Rome talks, returned home this morning.

Zambia

Kaunda Accuses Opposition MMD of Coup Plotting

*MB0112200290 Gaborone Domestic Service in English
1919 GMT 1 Dec 90*

[Text] The Zambian president, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, today accused the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy, the MMD, of preparing a military coup for next year, in case it loses the country's first free elections in 18 years.

President Kaunda told a rally in the copper mining town of Kitwe that multiparty elements are going around recruiting soldiers to stage a coup if they lose in the 1991 elections.

Since its creation in July, the MMD has spearheaded widespread opposition to continued one party rule by Dr. Kaunda's United National Party [as heard]. Dr. Kaunda and his party have governed Zambia continuously since independence from Britain in 1964.

The MMD has been campaigning vigorously since September when Dr. Kaunda agreed to legalize opposition parties again and hold multiparty elections next year.

Kaunda Claims MMD Seeks Attack by UNITA

*MB0212114690 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 2 Dec 90*

[Text] President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has claimed that the opposition Movement for a Multiparty Democracy [MMD] in his country has asked the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]

leader in Angola, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, to attack Zambia from the west if his ruling United National Independence Party wins the general election in Zambia next year.

Addressing a rally at Kitwe, Dr. Kaunda said he had asked President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola for permission to meet Dr. Savimbi in an attempt to dissuade UNITA from helping the multiparty democracy.

Ivory Coast

Prime Minister Explains Cabinet Composition

AB0312151590 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 1 Dec 90 p 15

[Address by Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara in Abidjan, on 30 November, on the new cabinet]

[Text] My dear fellow countrymen, ladies and gentlemen: When I was appointed prime minister by the president of the Republic on 7 November 1990, he asked me to form a government as soon as possible. Following the first multiparty elections, which the president of the Republic won with a large majority, I have just presented him with the list of members of my government which the minister of communications read out earlier.

Two major factors marked my suggestions to the president of the Republic.

—First, the avoidance of ministries with no specific assignments.

—Next, the regrouping of activities of the various ministries under more homogeneous departments.

These considerations resulted in the reduction by a third of the number of ministries which has fallen from 30 to 20. This concentration will help ensure better coherence of state action as well as more efficient monitoring of government activities.

My explanations will be based on four important points.

First, the prime minister will also be in charge of the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

Our country's economic recovery depends on the success of the stabilization program. It is this recovery that will help to raise the standard of living of our people. Consequently, the implementation of recovery measures will be specially monitored by the head of government, who will be assisted in this task by two minister delegates:

—One will be responsible for economy, finance, commerce, and plan, that is to say, a vast area of economic and financial affairs;

—The other will be responsible for raw materials, whose production constitutes the main source of revenue for our country.

Second, some ministries have been grouped together.

—Ten former ministries have been merged, and their duties assigned to five new departments.

As I just said, the activities of the former Ministry of Economy and Finance have been extended to cover commerce and plan. In addition, the Ministries of Agriculture, Water, and Forestry Resources, and the Ministry of Animal Husbandry have been merged to bring together the activities of the entire primary sector under one department;

—The Ministries of Mines and Industry have been merged to include the activities of the industrial sector under the same department.

—Henceforth, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Internal Security and Drug Control have been merged for better coordination in the implementation of measures on the protection of property and citizens. In this regard, I would like to stress that one of the first actions of the government will be the establishment, as soon as possible, of structures to reinforce security in Abidjan and in other big cities. These new structures will be provided with additional men and equipment.

—The Ministries of Civil Service and Labor have been merged to enable fuller appreciation of employment problems both in the public and private sectors.

Ensuring harmonious development

Third, some ministries have been restructured.

—The Ministry of National Education, which will henceforth be responsible for primary, secondary, and higher education, will ensure perfect integration of the general education programs for our youth.

—The establishment of a Ministry of Scientific Research and Technical and Professional Training expresses the willingness of the government to promote applied scientific and technical research.

—The role of the Ministry of Health and Social Protection is to extend health policy to include social protection.

—The Ministry of Public Works, Transport, and Urban Development has been divided into two departments:

The new Ministry of Equipment and Transport includes the Ministry of Tourism, in order to ensure harmonious development of tourist infrastructure. It also includes the Ministry of Environment, Construction, and Urban Development in order to lay greater emphasis on housing and living conditions.

I said three weeks ago that we had 100 days to restructure our administration. We are aware that you are expecting rapid decisions on this issue from the new government team. The restructuring of the administration will, in fact, help to avoid the slowness and impediments that our citizens encounter, especially in their business deals, in their contacts with the public services. It is in order to begin this process that cadres from the private sector have been brought into the government.

My dear fellow countrymen, ladies and gentlemen, the government which has just been formed is yours. I am convinced that you will always support us to enable us to carry on with the gigantic task of nation building which President Felix Houphouet-Boigny has achieved for Ivory Coast.

Liberia

Dogonyaro on Disarming INPFL, AFL Soldiers

AB0312102690 Dakar PANA in English
0947 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Monrovia, 3 Dec. (NAN/PANA)—The five-nation ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peace keeping force in Liberia, ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease—Fire Monitoring Group], has now begun disarming, arresting and detaining soldiers of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) rebel group and those of the Armed Forces of Liberia following Friday's breach of the Bamako cease-fire agreement. Scores of the INPFL rebel soldiers led by Prince Johnson of the Liberian Army [as received], remnants of Doe soldiers, have been arrested and detained at ECOMOG headquarters.

Briefing Nigerian journalists in Monrovia on the new development Sunday, the ECOMOG field commander, Maj. Gen. Joshua Dogonyaro said that the soldiers arrested were those of the two factions found within Monrovia city, in defiance of a presidential order for all soldiers to return to their bases and barracks. The general said that ECOMOG decided to disarm cease-fire violators because it could not fold its hands and watch hard earned agreement crumble. He said that when the fighting broke out on Friday, the interim president Amos Sawyer contacted the leaders of the two factions and ordered them to withdraw their soldiers from the streets of Monrovia to make them safe for civilians.

The interim government, the general said, has now directed that only ECOMOG would be maintaining security in the city, adding that part of the Bamako agreement signed by the warring parties empowered ECOMOG to commence disarming the factions. The current exercise, which Dogonyaro said would also be extended to the Charles Taylor rebel group, was aimed at ensuring that the fighters do not constitute themselves into a nuisance to peace in the city.

Dogonyaro confirmed that Johnson is now confined to his base in Caldwell near Monrovia and the Liberian Army to the barracks in Central Monrovia.

The disarming of the rebel and Doe soldiers began at about 16.30 GMT Saturday while firing was still going on. However, fighting has ended, disarming continues and large numbers of civilians are back on the streets.

Interim President Sawyer Leaves For Guinea

AB0412100890 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Text] The Liberian interim leader, Dr. Amos Sawyer, yesterday left the capital, Monrovia, for the Guinean capital Conakry on an official visit at the head of a 13-man delegation. Dr. Sawyer's trip to that country is the first official visit of the Liberian interim president since his inauguration two weeks ago.

Speaking to ELBC news shortly before departure, the president said his visit is upon the invitation of his Guinean counterpart, General Lansana Conte. He disclosed that while in Conakry, discussions are expected to be held on the current situation in Liberia, as well as bilateral relations between the two West African countries.

The president's official delegation includes the acting foreign Minister Gabriel Bacchus Matthews; the deputy speaker of the interim legislative assembly, Mr. Noah Bordolo; Colonel (Samuel Vaneh); and Sheikh Kafumba Konnah among others. It is not known how long Dr. Sawyer will be away.

The interim vice president, Bishop Ronald Diggs, is conducting the affairs of the Liberian Government during the absence of the president.

'Sources' Say 10 Dead in Monrovia Fighting

AB0312203890 Paris AFP in English 1944 GMT
3 Dec 90

[By James Borbor]

[Excerpts] Monrovia, Dec 3 (AFP)—Ten soldiers and civilians were killed in fighting here at the weekend between rebels and remnants of the late President Samuel Doe's Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), official sources said Monday.

But independent sources put the death toll as high as 30. Clashes broke out Friday between the AFL and Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) rebels led by Prince Johnson.

The renewed fighting threatened a ceasefire agreement signed by the two groups and the main rebel leader, Charles Taylor, on Wednesday in the Malian capital, Bamako after a meeting of the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) convened to discuss ways to end Liberia's 11-month civil war. [passage omitted]

ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] soldiers on Saturday and Sunday rounded up INPFL and AFL troops who had refused to stop fighting and return to their bases. Witnesses said some ECOMOG troops tied, beat up and disarmed some soldiers who refused the order while others were seen fleeing.

ECOMOG field commander Joshua Dogonyaro of Nigeria told a news conference Saturday that his forces would ensure that the Bamako cease-fire signed by the INPFL, the AFL and Mr. Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) was "never again violated by any of the factions." General Dogonyaro has ordered INPFL and AFL forces back to their bases, and warned that soldiers failing to obey the order "would have themselves to blame." Soldiers allowed into town should not bring weapons or wear uniform, Gen. Dogonyaro said.

Meanwhile, AFL leader General Hezekiah Bowen has ordered all his men back to the Barclay Training Center military barracks under his control. He said the soldiers would remain there until they could be evacuated to the military Camp Schiefflin 30 kilometers (18 miles) east of here on the highway to Robertsfield, the country's only international airport now under NPFL control.

Prior to the weekend fighting, residents of Monrovia complained about continued harassment by AFL soldiers, primarily members of the late Mr. Doe's Krahn tribe, who frequently question them at roadblocks and accuse them of being rebels or rebel supporters.

The residents also complained that the soldiers extorted money from them as checkpoints set up around the war-ravaged capital.

ECOWAS Forces Reportedly Control Monrovia

*AB0312185990 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 3 Dec 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In Liberia, the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] peacekeeping force has spent the weekend trying to patch up the cease-fire which broke down on Friday with the outbreak of fighting between Prince Johnson forces and the Armed Forces of Liberia, AFL, loyal to ex-President Doe. The fighting started when Johnson's men attacked AFL positions, saying that the AFL was planning to ambush them. But ECOMOG forces intervened and have now respectively got the two opposing forces under their control. From Monrovia, Scott Sterns telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] At the request of interim President Amos Sawyer, ECOMOG over the weekend chased Johnson's forces and AFL troops off the streets. Monrovia's security is now entirely in the hands of ECOMOG with Johnson rebels confined to their Caldwell base and AFL soldiers to the Barclay Training Center. As of five o'clock on Saturday, anyone found on the streets in uniform or arms has been arrested. According to a spokesman for ECOMOG field commander Joshua Dogonyaro, all AFL soldiers complied with the order. He said that over 50 of Johnson's men had been imprisoned near the ECOMOG headquarters for violating the command. However, sources within Johnson's forces out the number at nearly 200.

After meeting with Johnson and Dogonyaro today, interim President Amos Sawyer said that they talked about the weekend fighting and came to an understanding about maintaining peace. Sawyer said that the Johnson men would be released, but he did not say when.

After detailed investigations, ECOMOG has determined that Johnson's fabricated claims of a planned ambush by AFL soldiers on Friday [30 Nov] was part of a ruse to carry out a premeditated attack on the AFL. Johnson

amassed a force in Vaitown on Friday to cross the bridge and take the Barclay Training Center. After two days of continued gunfire, Monrovia fell silent once again on Sunday.

A spokesman for Dogonyaro said that any further violation is a direct attack on the mandate from ECOMOG. ECOMOG was busy constructing new roadblocks and checking cars today as they took complete control of Bushrod Island, north of the city, for the first time.

Meanwhile, interim President Sawyer left this afternoon for Conakry to attend to unfinished business with President Conte. ECOMOG says that it is working out the details of the cease-fire signed with rebel leader Charles Taylor last week in Bamako, and after making contact with Taylor through the U.S. Embassy, representatives of the five-nation force said that they would be meeting with Taylor in the next few days. It is not clear whether Sawyer's trip to Conakry had any connection with this deal. [end recording]

Mali

President Traore Cancels Trip to France

*AB0312221490 Paris AFP in French 1436 GMT
3 Dec 90*

[Excerpt] Bamako, 3 Dec (AFP)—Mali Radio and Television has announced that Malian President Moussa Traore cancelled his trip to France today. Mali Radio and Television, which had not given the reason for or duration of the trip, which was officially announced on Saturday afternoon in Bamako and was to begin today, also gave no explanation for its cancellation. [passage omitted]

Radio Reports Violent Demonstrations in Bamako

*AB0312163690 Bamako Domestic Service in French
1500 GMT 3 Dec 90*

[Text] Eviction measures against petty traders of Bamako have been postponed until further notice. In fact, the chairman of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Mali informs members of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Mali that during the discussions that the bureau of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Mali and the Association of Traders held with the district governor, it was decided in one accord to postpone the deadline for the implementation of the eviction measures to 31 January 1990.

To this effect, a technical committee consisting of representatives of the governor's office and businessmen has been set up in order to find new premises for the transfer of those who are illegally occupying the Bamako commercial center. Meanwhile, those with regular authorization can resume their normal activities.

The announcement of these measures led to a demonstration this morning in the streets of Bamako. Where

did these protesters come from? How did they organize themselves to surge up with such violence into the city center and its immediate surroundings? Answers to these questions will, no doubt, be found in the coming days.

Meanwhile, Bamako residents may have observed that the vandals, who spread this morning in certain areas of our capital, demonstrated a blind furor for destruction. Starting at about 0800 [GMT] from the central market, they spread out in the area, ravaging all that stood in their way. Private cars were assaulted, stoned, and sometimes burned; telephone booths were smashed; road signs whacked down; trees uprooted—the vandals did not stop at anything. The security forces had to intervene vigorously to disperse the groups of hooligans and restore calm.

It is certain that the vandals, who are mostly very young, are different from the traders who are being affected by the eviction measure, which has, moreover, been postponed. It rather seems that they took advantage of the emotion caused by this measure to trigger off the disorder and indulge in their acts of vandalism.

Officials Comment

*AB0312212890 Bamako Domestic Service in French
1500 GMT 3 Dec 90*

[Text] There was a demonstration this morning in the commercial center of Bamako following the clean-up measures that the district governor has decided to introduce in order to aerate the city center and to ensure free flow of traffic. This measure, which was badly understood, immediately led to acts of violence which resulted in the closure of shops and other acts. Thus, several vehicles were ransacked, signboards and traffic lights snatched off, and so on. So we went to the district governor's office to interview the governor, and he explained how the incidents occurred:

[Begin recording] [Governor] First of all, I would like to call on the inhabitants to be calm, particularly those at the commercial center who provoked this demonstration, which is regrettable and deplorable. I think that we were not understood, unless they are exploiting this situation for other goals. Otherwise, it is a patriotic appeal that we made to the people who illegally occupy public places, the pavements, and the streets, at the level of the market and commercial center.

We were not understood and we discovered this morning that the people, the traders [words indistinct] whereas we at our level had not yet taken all the measures to enable us to clear these passages, and we have this serious reaction, in fact, from the people who occupy this commercial center. And what we have planned to do (?in collaboration) with the Chambers of Commerce is first to call on the people to be calm. I do not say that we are going to go back on our decision, but we are going to ask... [changes thought] some have been authorized by the administration itself to carry on their activities, but who, we realized, had not been called upon to evacuate.

It is those who illegally occupy these premises without authorization that have been invited to evacuate.

[Reporter] Honorable Governor, this morning's action seems to remind one of a [former commerce minister Soumana] Sacko operation. Are you continuing with this, or was it a lack of followup that caused all this?

[Governor] It was an order following the 1988 district council meeting, which took measures in 1988 for the evacuation of these public places from time to time. Each time, the administration intervened to evict the dissidents. What is new, and to which the people are reacting, is the Environmental Protection Brigade, which is an institution which is also not of today, it does not date from Mr. Sacko's time. It is a concerted action which led to the creation of the Environmental Protection Brigade, which does not have a repressive role, but rather a role of education, sensitization and [words indistinct]. And it is afterwards that the specialized services can be contacted, when this brigade has done its job on the ground. The specialized service must then intervene, be they the economic, taxation, sanitation services, or the police themselves, in order to take the necessary action.

[Reporter] Early this morning, you met with a delegation of the Chamber of Commerce. You certainly made some decisions. Are you sure that you can implement all the decisions you made this morning?

[Governor] We did not hope [words indistinct] comes from the inhabitants of Bamako District [end recording]

From the district governor's office to the Chamber of Commerce, we only had to cross the road, and there we met with the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Dramane Amidou Toure, who gives us some clarifications:

[Begin recording] [Toure] It is correct to say that some deplorable incidents took place this morning which need to be put in their proper context, and other things need to be clarified as to what happened and what should have been done. The events that occurred came as a surprise to everybody, and I would say, they surprised first of all the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Mali, but also the business community. It appeared shocking, but I say this precisely because the deadline [words indistinct] the events in their context.

There was a communique from the governor's office, in line with the Bamako clean-up program, on clearing up some streets of the town that are currently overwhelmed by all kinds of people. There are people selling things, but there are also idlers. All this does not give our capital a good image. But anyway, this is not the most important issue.

The real issue is that we, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Mali, on behalf of the entire business community, both small and large business, are of the view that if we had been associated with the process that led to

these decisions, we would have launched the necessary information and sensitization campaign within the business community. I am not speaking for others because we do not control [words indistinct] of all the persons within the market, but concerning the businessmen, of both large and small businesses, we would have given enough information to sensitize the people if we had been associated with the decision, and perhaps would have stopped the acts that might have provoked the incidents that we have seen, and thus avoided all the damage. There were shops that were ransacked [words indistinct] damaged also. People made off with bread and, in some cases, flour. All this cannot be attributed to or considered as events connected with trading activities in public areas. This is to say that everyone—government officials as well as the police and the Chamber of Commerce—was quickly overwhelmed by the events.

So, what decisions did we make with the governor? We decided that there should be a deadline. We decided that the deadline should be 31 January 1991. Between now and that date, we shall be able to have the necessary means to sensitize everyone and, in particular, to resettle those among the petty traders who do not have precise trading spots, to resettle those who do not hold licenses and are trading in the commercial center, and this will be done depending upon the commune from which they come. We shall be able to see how we can resettle them within the markets of their commune in order to decongest the center a little bit the commercial center. [end recording]

Nigeria

Commentary Urges Liberian Missions To Reopen

AB0312173590 Lagos Domestic Service in English
0600 GMT 1 Dec 90

[Reginald Okotche commentary]

[Text] The extent of destruction in the Liberian war is already well known. But the greatest part of the tragedy is that the human casualties included innocent intellectuals and future generations of Liberians and present youths between the ages of 15 and 20, as well as children. That was the situation when the five-nation ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] standing mediation committee initiated efforts to find a peaceful solution to the bloody conflict.

Unfortunately, the committee's appeals for a cease-fire and its decision to send an ECOWAS monitoring group to supervise the cease-fire were misunderstood by a few members of the community. Consequently, several efforts in the past to get all the warring factions to the conference table were undermined by the refusal of Charles Taylor to accept the ECOWAS peace plan. It was against this background that the extraordinary summit of the community was held in Bamako, the Malian capital, to resolve the crisis.

The cease-fire agreement, which came at the end of the meeting, was to Liberians and indeed all West Africans as a great relief. For Charles Taylor in particular, the signing of the cease-fire agreement signified the eventual victory of reason over intransigence. Credit must be given to all ECOWAS leaders for their great patience and commitment in finding a formula for the settlement to the crisis. Special commendation should go to President Ibrahim Babangida, the Ivorian leader, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, and Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi of Libya for the various roles and pressures they applied on Charles Taylor to negotiate.

With the signing of the cease-fire agreement, Liberia has moved into another delicate stage in her search for peace and national reconciliation. All parties to the agreement should therefore demonstrate transparent honesty and commitment to ending the 11-month hostilities. So far, the leaders of the armed factions in Liberia have accepted to work with the interim government headed by Professor Amos Sawyer.

All Liberians therefore expect Mr. Taylor to abide by the principles of the agreement. To do otherwise will amount to taking the entire subregion for a ride. Happily, the cease-fire agreement has made provision for the expansion of the ECOWAS Peacekeeping Force to include troops from other willing member states. The extraordinary summit also agreed to reconstitute the interim government to take in some members of Charles Taylor's faction.

What is fundamental to the success of the agreement is for Mr. Taylor to recognize the political authority of the interim government. It will be sad for Liberians to witness a reenactment of last week's peace accord between the Angolan Government and the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels, which was breached soon after by

West African heads of state can help the peace process in Liberia by asserting the interim government and reopening their diplomatic missions in Monrovia. Nigeria has already taken the lead in this direction. As things return to normal in that country, enormous amounts of food aid will be needed to feed hundreds of thousands of refugees returning home. The international community and donor agencies should take advantage of the cease-fire to send relief materials to the war-torn country.

The Bamako extraordinary summit has demonstrated that African leaders possess the political will and maturity to deal with African problems. The greater responsibility of finding peace in Liberia now rests squarely on the shoulders of Liberians themselves. Charles Taylor's plea to Nigeria to let bygones be bygones is equally relevant to his country. Since charity begins at home, Mr. Taylor should exhibit that spirit back home in Liberia in the overall interest of the country and her people.

Nation Reaffirms Support for Palestinian People

AB0212222490 Lagos Domestic Service in English
2100 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Nigeria today joined the rest of the world in observing the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people. Diplomatic correspondent Joseph Azoror reports that the ceremony marking the day was attended in Lagos by members of the diplomatic corps and a cross section of the Nigerian public:

[Begin Azoror recording] The United Nations set aside 29 November every year to call it the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people in their historic struggle for independence. Since 1947, the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East have been top on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly. To this end, various resolutions passed at the assembly have condemned Israel for her continued intransigence and refusal to withdraw from occupied Arab and Palestinian lands. The assembly had also reaffirmed that the question of Palestine remained the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that no comprehensive, just, and lasting peace could be achieved in the region without the full exercise of Palestinian people of their right to self-determination and immediate, unconditional, and total withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

In a message on the occasion, the minister of external affairs, retired Major General Ike Nwachukwu said: Nigeria believes in a convening of an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations for a just solution to the Middle East conflict. He reaffirmed the Federal Government's unflinching support and recognition of the Palestinians under the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, PLO. [end recording] [passage omitted]

*** Babangida Reaffirms Commitment to Transition**

91AF02244 Lagos THE GUARDIAN in English
21 Oct 90 pp A1, A2

[Article by Kelechi Onyemaobi]

[Text] President Ibrahim Babangida made yesterday his yearly pilgrimage to Kuru near Jos, where he addressed graduating members of the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) on the socio-political imperatives of the transition programme.

The President's 31-page treatise, which at NIPSS' 12th graduation ceremony, was largely a reaffirmation of "unshakeable commitment" in the political transition programme, and an explanation of its various components.

Said he: "The point that must be emphasised is that we have not lost sight of the letter and spirit of the philosophy of the transition project.

"Our commitment to it is unshakable and we are going to make a success of it. This is the legacy which this administration has decisively resolved to leave behind for posterity."

He said that because of the inherent limitations of man as a designer of political and economic systems, the government is "constantly on the alert" to prevent the transition programme from being derailed.

The high points of the President's address included a historical justification of federalism as the country's principle of governance, a defence of the creation, by government fiat, of a grass roots two-party system, as well as an explanation of the current demilitarisation process meant to subjugate the nation's armed forces to the constituted authority of a civil polity.

Offering a historical perspective, General Babangida observed the shift from a parliamentary-type to a presidential-type of federalism was based on the nation's political experience and the need to resolve certain contradictions thrown up by the constitutional crisis in 1964, over the sharing of executive powers between the head of state and the head of government.

This was resolved in the 1979 constitution by a fusion of the executive powers in the one constitutional authority of the executive president, but without jettisoning the principle of federalism which is rooted in Nigeria's historical past, according to Gen. Babangida.

"My point," said the President, "is that federalism, or at least its underlying ideas, can be said to be indigenous to Nigeria, so much that it can be argued that Nigeria has historically and culturally been a federal society....

"It is therefore not without historical foundation for me to have emphasized in a number of speeches that federalism is one of the settled fundamental issues in our search for a durable and viable political arrangement."

On this score, he submitted that Nigeria has much to congratulate herself on for remaining a federal state, "in the light of the current global concern with pluralism," and the deconcentration of political power through various kinds of constitutionally guaranteed arrangements for power sharing.

In the same vein, President Babangida submitted that the adoption of a grass roots democratic two-party system is "designed to further consolidate our political system by federalising the structure and operation of the party system."

In this way, the emergent political parties would not be able, as in the past, to manipulate the "vulnerable links" of the nation's social structures, including ethnicity and religion.

"In essence, the proper functioning of the two-party system has the potentials of diminishing the salience of ethnicity and religion in the body politics."

President Babangida also stressed that as the transition programme moves towards its final stages, the need to prepare the military for its traditional non-political role under a civilian regime becomes "compelling."

This, he said, explains the current reorganisations in the armed forces as well as the on-going demilitarisation exercise.

"Recent events have underscored some of the lingering problems we must solve if demilitarisation is not to be a temporary or elusive solution to our effort to create an enduring democratic polity.

"The objective is to restore the ethos of professionalism to the armed forces.

"As painful as the changes must be to those of you affected, I hope you will regard them as being in the line of personal duty and national sacrifice that you have been called upon to make for your fatherland."

Overall, the yearly graduation ceremony of NIPSS gives the president a yearly forum to review the problems and prospects of the nation, and to rub minds with the select corps of senior military officers, top government officials, chief executives and captains of industry who attend its elite senior executive course in the serene, rarefied air of "Bukuru," Jos, in the Plateau State capital.

* Monitoring Group's Combat Role Criticized

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[Article by Anselm Odinkalu, who practices as an attorney-at-law in Lagos; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Dwight Eisenhower is the name of that urbane American general of yore who, as the commander of the Allied Forces during World War II, masterminded the scuttling of Hitler's madness. Shortly thereafter, probably as a reward for his war exploits, his countrymen rewarded him with the coveted position of Presidency of the United States of America. In that office, he also presided over the Korean and Suez crises. Informed by all this, he concluded that his life was devoted, in the words of the title to his highly readable memoirs, to Waging Peace.

If Eisenhower was definite about his mission, one can hardly say the same about the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group]. The group was conceived in confusion and delivered onto a conflagration. Its designation as a 'monitoring group' is itself a confession of ambivalence. What was it to monitor: War, peace or mayhem? All that is now history, though. ECOMOG has ceased to be a 'monitoring group'—if it ever was—it is now a fighting army.

By the way, ECOMOG was the name of a military gamble, conceived by five—four Anglophone and one Francophone—West African countries as the ultimate prescription for a festering sore called Liberia, a country where, until recently, two nuts and one maniac were engaged in a competition to destroy the very land that each of the three desired to rule.

The mission of the ECOMOG, we were made to understand, was not only to brew peace for these three, but to get them to taste the brew. It would seem that somewhere along the line, somebody realised that soldiers do not brew peace by 'monitoring' war. So, ECOMOG was redesignated a combative force and became, by that fact, a fourth army in a country already wasted by three other armies.

Right from inception, ECOMOG was a misnomer in concept and nomenclature. For one, a force composed of soldiers from only five West African countries is grossly unrepresentative of an ECOWAS of 15 countries and did not deserve to go under a tag suggesting a mandate from the regional group. Every evidence points to the fact that such a mandate was lacking. This has led to a division in the ship of ECOWAS that was until recently, enjoying a relatively safe sail.

ECOMOG's brief has always been obscure. If anything, the massive military mobilization by the ECOMOG countries gave the impression not of a pacifist initiative—as many of us were led to believe—but of belligerent interventionism. The death of Samuel Doe in very questionable circumstances only served to render this obscure brief even more opaque.

ECOMOG was also a wrong prescription from an incompetent doctor. The treaty constituting the ECOWAS, under which umbrella ECOMOG sought legitimacy, never contemplated anything in the semblance of ECOMOG. The treaty was only for an Economic Union of West African States. That the treaty does not legitimise the ECOMOG gambit is consistent with the settled principles of international laws and comity in favour of territorial integrity and non-interventionism.

Moreover, the resources being depleted on waging war against the Liberian people could have been better employed to offer humanitarian assistance to the victims of the fractricide in that country while simultaneously pursuing possibilities for a pacifist solution to it. In any event, one doubts whether the ECOMOG countries had any justification for arrogating to themselves the role of protector of all alien interest in Liberia.

To crown it all, ECOMOG reeked of an unbearably hypocritical stench. While Samuel Doe held court in Liberia, the attitudes of the ECOMOG countries towards the sufferings of his countrymen in his hands varied from inexplicable ambivalence, through supine indifference to overt encouragement. One ECOMOG country is known to have conferred on him her highest national honour. When therefore ECOMOG was born, not a few eyebrows were raised.

Liberia is not the first of its kind in these parts. Before it, we had Biafra and Congo. In Africa, we have Angola and Eritrea, and most recently, Rwanda. In other parts of the globe, we can count Cambodia and, of course, 'ever-greens' Lebanon. None of these has spawned anything resembling ECOMOG. One is forced to conclude that ECOMOG has no basis in law, precedent or expediency. In all fathomable respects, it is a grand assault on the foundations of international relations.

All illusions about the mission of ECOMOG must have been exploded by its recent assumption of a combative posture. If before that development, the group could, by some flight of reasoning justifiably describe itself as 'monitoring'—whatever that involved—it has, by that transformation, lost all claims to that appellation. The transformation into a combative force should also have meant the assumption of a combative name but this was not considered necessary.

A consideration of what Liberia has cost us here in Nigeria is, however, necessary. When it all started, we

refused to evacuate our nationals from Liberia, preferring instead empty assurances that evoked memories of Entebbe. Shortly thereafter, with the escalation of hostilities in Liberia, the official rationalisation here took a more grotesque turn. Why, it was argued, did we have to bother about the fate of barely 5,000 when Guinea was literally prepared to fritter her over 200,000 nationals away in the fray. The number of Nigerians we sacrificed in Liberia will probably never be known. I'm not talking yet of the other resources that we have had to throw in.

ECOMOG has not helped the hopes of these people as indeed it failed to salvage Doe. On the contrary, it mugged those hopes. ECOMOG partisans would have us believe that Liberia has seen its worst days and that it is now on the home stretch with ECOMOG as the torch-bearer. It was never anybody's wish that Liberia should get as rabid as it became. The prayer in most places is for peace to return to that country. Whenever that happens and the historians go in to perform the customary post-mortem, my guess is that all will agree that ECOMOG may, after all, have been an ECO-MORGUE.

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